EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450–1450

The Kings of the Slavs

The Image of a Ruler in the Latin Text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

Wawrzyniec Kowalski



BRILL

EAST CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, 450–1450

The Kings of the Slavs

East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450

General Editors

Florin Curta and Dušan Zupka

VOLUME 69

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/ecee*

The Kings of the Slavs

The Image of a Ruler in the Latin Text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

By

Wawrzyniec Kowalski

BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Translation by Andrzej Wojtasik

Cover illustration: “Saint Jovan Vladimir (Ardenica)”, Kostandin Shpataraku, 1739.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Kowalski, Wawrzyniec, author.
Title: The kings of the Slavs : the image of a ruler in the Latin text of the Chronicle of the priest of Duklja / by Wawrzyniec Kowalski.
Other titles: Chronicle of the priest of Duklja.
Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2021] | Series: East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 1450–1450, 1872–8103 ; volume 69 | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2020050081 (print) | LCCN 2020050082 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004446878 (hardback) | ISBN 9789004447639 (ebook)
Subjects: LCSH: Slavs, Southern—History. | Slavs, Southern—History—Sources. | Slavs, Southern—Kings and rulers. | Slavs, Southern—Kings and rulers—Sources. | Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja.
Classification: LCC DR25 .K68 2021 (print) | LCC DR25 (ebook) | DDC 949.7/01—dc23
LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020050081
LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2020050082

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 1872-8103
ISBN 978-90-04-44687-8 (hardback)
ISBN 978-90-04-44763-9 (e-book)

Contents

Acknowledgments

I would like to express my gratitude to Professor Przemysław Wiszewski, who has revised and commented on the preliminary versions of this work, and to Professors Jacek Banaszkiewicz, Andrzej Pleszczyński, and Lesław Spychała for their valuable remarks on the draft manuscript.

This work was translated with the financial support of the University of Wrocław. I owe many thanks to Professor Lucyna Harc and Katarzyna Polak (Institute of History, Wrocław) and to Alessandra Giliberto (Brill Publishers) for their executive assistance and guidance.

I am grateful to Leokadia Krzewska for stylistic corrections, Andrzej Wojtasik for his comments during the translation process, and Sara Elin Roberts for proofreading and making the text more elegant and approachable.

Special thanks to my parents for their help and for patience they showed when I was doing the research, to my sister, whose practical approach allowed me to adopt the right perspective, and to all my friends, colleagues and teachers who helped me with advice, support and enthusiasm at various moments of work on this project.

CHAPTER 1

Preliminary Chapter

1 Introduction

This is a book about fictitious rulers of an imaginary realm. In accordance with historiographical tradition, we will use the term "The Kingdom of the Slavs". The history of this kingdom was presented in a text titled *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. As the title indicates, the author of the work was a clergyman from the city of Bar, in Duklja (Dioclea in Latin), a state situated within the border of today's Montenegro. This anonymous chronicler details the history of a powerful dynasty once ruling in the area of Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to some extent also Macedonia and Albania. The task of the present work is to approximate the meanings hidden behind this history of the contrived monarchy, by recognizing the tradition in which the course of the fate of its most important rulers was ascribed. Our reflection will focus on four representatives of that royal family who could be considered rulers of breakthrough periods. Each of them presented a different pattern of rule and each of them in his own way established new rules for the functioning of the Kingdom of the Slavs, presenting grounds for its existence in the future.

Such a task does not at first glance seem to be very difficult. When preparing for the analysis of the source, it would be prudent to pose some initial questions, and then move on to a critical analysis of selected fragments. The crucial issue would be to ascertain the place and time of the creation of the work. For obvious reasons, the issue of authorship of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* is also important. Another important goal would be to define this earliest audience of the text. Unfortunately, it turns out that none of these issues can be settled satisfactorily unless we let ourselves be misled by the answers provided by the later tradition surrounding this work. In the case of *The Chronicle*, the inability to conduct standard criticism of the source is only the start of the disappointments.

2 What Is *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, and What Is It Not?

It is usually assumed that *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* was written in the second half of the twelfth century, and is therefore one of the oldest preserved monuments of the historiography of medieval Dalmatia. This view has

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_002

a long tradition, and is still held by the vast majority of Croatian, Serbian and Montenegrin scholars studying this source. Norbert Kersken also supports this view in his complex monograph on the direction and different stages of medieval historiography in various parts of Europe, although he does not devote a great deal of attention to *The Chronicle*, as he considers it an isolated case that is difficult to place within the broader framework of local historiographical tradition.[1] Indeed, despite the enormous popularity of *The Chronicle* among modern and contemporary historians in later times, it is difficult to find clear evidence that it was well-known in the Middle Ages. In addition, the circumstances of the creation of *The Chronicle* are unclear. In the introduction to one of the surviving texts, the chronicler explained the motives that prompted him to take up the task, while at the same time asserting that he was only a translator of the older book written in Slavic; his Latin translation was reportedly a response to an appeal by his brethren and other clergymen of the archbishopric in Bar. He stated that he had been requested to write down the historical events by older people, but above all by youngsters, who were interested in hearing about tales of wars as much as in participating in them.[2] The Latin text of *The Chronicle*, allegedly the translation of the older narrative, is said to have been created in this way.

The initial situation seems to be essentially clear. *The Chronicle* was an attempt to write down a piece of history to meet the needs of the local community. The circle of recipients is known: the clergy and citizens of the city of Bar on the shore of the Adriatic Sea. Who was the author of the Latin text? A monk at one of the local convents. The purpose of writing the history was also expressed explicitly. The issue of establishing the date of *The Chronicle*'s creation appears to be the only remaining problem, yet it seems that it could be solved quickly, on the basis of the text itself and an analysis of knowledge of the local history taken from other sources.

1 Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes'. Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna, 1995), pp. 826, 843.

2 "Rogatus a vobis dilectis in Christo fratribus, ac venerabilibus sacerdotibus sanctae sedis archiepiscopatus Dioclitanae ecclesiae, necnon et a pluribus senioribus maxime a iuvenibus nostrae civitatis, qui non solum in audiendo seu legendo, sed [etiam] in exercendo bella – ut iuvenum moris est – delectantur, ut »Libellum Gothorum«, quod latine »Sclavorum« dicitur »regnum« quo omnia gesta, ac bella eorum scripta sunt, ex sclavonica littera verterem in latinam, vim inferens meae ipsae senectuti, vestrae postulationi fraterna coactus charitate, parere studui. Verum tamen nullus legentium credat, alia me scripsisse praeter ea, quae [legi et] a patribus nostris et antiquis senioribus veridica narratione referre audivi", *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. Vladimir Mošin (Zagreb, 1950), p. 39 [Hereafter cited as: *Ljetopis*. If not otherwise stated, this edition is the source of the quotations].

Unfortunately, in actual fact, the case of *The Chronicle* is much more complicated. A reader can quickly come to the conclusion that the narrative leads through a maze of fictitious characters and unbelievable events – sometimes even giving the impression of a fairy-tale. For this reason, Slavko Mijušković, one of the translators of *The Chronicle*, called the Priest of Duklja the first author of belles-lettres in the territories that were to become Yugoslavia.[3] In fact, Mijušković was not the first scholar to be disappointed with the information provided by the author of *The Chronicle*; from the nineteenth century, scholars no longer considered it to be a valuable source. Numerous efforts to critically review *The Chronicle* were focused mostly on interpreting the title of traditions hidden in the text as reflections of real events, and on connecting the names of fictitious rulers with historical figures known from other sources.

Until recently, however, there had been a consensus on a few of the fundamental issues: the information provided in the aforementioned prologue was usually considered to be credible, although the earliest preserved copy of the basic longer text is the Italian translation by Mauro Orbini from the start of the seventeenth century. Also, the hypothetical creation date of *The Chronicle* in the mid-twelfth century, as determined by Orbini, was adopted (with some corrections) in the most important critical edition of *The Chronicle* by Ferdo Šišić.[4]

Today's historians are deprived even of these foundations. Not only are the dating and authorship of *The Chronicle* challenged, but even its originality is called into question. According to the most extreme concepts, the Latin text known today could be the work of an early-modern counterfeiter. It is becoming increasingly difficult to consider *The Chronicle* as a source of information on "actual" events, even if – from the point of view of a scholar studying "real" history – some sections of it have greater value than others.[5] However, one can find legendary motifs within, traces of certain traditions, as well as conventions typical to medieval literature, and – above all – to the contemporary historiography of the Adriatic Sea region.

Deprived of the possibility of standard criticism of *The Chronicle*, we will be forced to seek meanings from within its narrative, making use of similar

3 Slavko Mijušković, "Predgovor," in idem *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina. Uvod, prijevod i komentar* (Belgrade, 1988), pp. 91–93 [the first edition: Titograd [Podgorica], 1967].

4 *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. Ferdo Šišić (Belgrade/Zagreb, 1928). [Hereafter cited as Šišić, *Letopis*]

5 Terms "real" and "actual" are in inverted commas because a history written down by historians is always their creation, a certain interpretation within the broader frames, thus a legendary history is a real history at a similar rate. See: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Gall jako historyk poważny, czyli dlaczego dzieje i Bolesława Chrobrego, i Bolesława Krzywoustego są prawdziwe i niegroteskowe," *Przegląd Historyczny*, 99, 3 (2008), pp. 399–410.

texts, and hoping that we will manage to identify certain political or cultural contexts that motivated the author to present selected issues. We share, without reservation, Danijel Džino's opinion, who observed that medieval written sources are first and foremost "products of political and cultural discourses of their times".[6] Although the plural form of "times" in the previous sentence is used in a broad sense rather than confined to rhetorical reasons, in this work we will attempt to identify even the slightest traces of discourses echoed in *The Chronicle*.

In this situation, it is worth recalling the words of Czesław Deptuła, who – in his reflections on the legendary vision of Polish history – noted that "the distinction between 'facts' and 'fairy tales' is basically a product of modern science".[7] It is a side issue whether and to what extent the Priest of Duklja himself believed in the tale he presented. Undoubtedly, it was supposed to fulfil certain persuasive functions and to construct a concrete image of history, above all in its readers. *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* – regardless of whether we consider it as an example of a chronicle, genealogy, annals or medieval *gesta* – proposes a genetic vision that is, to a certain extent, formalized and conditioned by a specific literary mode. Despite its Slavic title – *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* – *The Chronicle* is not really a *ljetopis* (annals) in the strict sense. It bears certain features of a chronicle, a genealogy, and "a tale about rulers' deeds", but determining the extent of each of these aspects is secondary to our inquiries. In fact, *The Chronicle* is a hybrid text. Its particular narratives and motifs are implemented and displayed in different manners, although the work as a whole presents a coherent vision of a dynasty shaped by means of examples of the attitudes of its most famous representatives.

3 The Different Versions of the Text

There are several extant versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. These are discussed in the next chapter of this work. The discussion in this chapter will not focus on which of the texts is closest to the original version, and which of the narratives better corresponds to the hypothetical original plot. From the surviving material, we can conclude that although the shorter Croatian version was preserved in the oldest manuscript known today, there are many

6 Danijel Dzino, *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia* (Leiden/Boston, 2010), p. 32.

7 Czesław Deptuła, *Mit genezy polski Galla Anonima: studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego* (Lublin, 1990), p. 10.

indications that this variant is based on a lost Latin version. Traditionally, it has been assumed that two of the Latin manuscripts contain a text that should be considered the closest to the original. Those manuscripts have raised many doubts among scholars, some of whom have not hesitated in making very serious allegations and have sought evidence of forgery in the Latin text. Nevertheless, in the present work, the Latin version will be treated as the main source; further it will be referred to as *Regnum Sclavorum*, the title taken from its prologue. The other variants discussed in detail in Chapter 2 will not be forgotten, for they constitute a certain body of texts which we can certainly say are interrelated. In this case, when we write about phenomena that are characteristic of all the versions, we will call them collectively: *The Chronicle*.

4 Who Was the Priest of Duklja?

The Priest of Duklja is an anonymous figure. It is possible that he really lived and worked in the city of Bar. However, he could equally have written extensive parts of his chronicle elsewhere. The idea that he was only the translator of an older source, or the compiler of several previously separate texts, cannot be excluded. *Regnum Sclavorum* (both the manuscripts known today and the translation by Orbini) present a certain narrative unity. Differences between the three known versions of the longer text indicate that further alterations took place, yet they did not result in a fundamental change in the plot. We will attribute the work of giving the Latin text the shape in which it is known today to "the Priest of Duklja". This conventional name does not suggest in any way that he actually came from Duklja. We also assume, agreeing with Živković, that it was in the latter part of the Middle Ages that *The Chronicle* gained the shape in which it is found today. It cannot be ruled out that it contains some earlier material which was only superficially edited, or that comprehensive parts of the text were appended to it as late as the sixteenth century. The only things we know for certain about the Priest of Duklja is that he wrote in Latin, and that he had completed his work before 1601, when the text of the Italian translation of *Regnum Sclavorum* was printed.

5 Topoi, Symbols, Structures, and the Way of Imaging in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

In order to confront the particular motifs appearing in *The Chronicle*, first we must identify them correctly. If we consider the use of certain ready-made and

conventionalized structures to present a desired image of history, or to evoke appropriate associations in readers, the Priest of Duklja's historiography cannot be an exception.

Of these structures, topoi – made famous by the work *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* by Ernst Robert Curtius – are the smallest ones. They are strongly conventionalized, and their meanings were determined by the principles of rhetoric.[8] Even Curtius, referring to the Jungian concept of archetype, allowed the possibility of creating new common places, as well as influencing the significance of those already existing.[9] The cultural and historical context in studies on the meaning of topoi was fully appreciated by Leo Spitzer.[10] His analysis of topoi was compared, by Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, to the iconological method of reading visual art proposed by Erwin Panofsky.[11]

While analysing selected motifs in *Regnum Sclavorum*, we will also consider the proportions between the conventionalized and the mutable in the context of the broader narrative tradition. We will discuss specific molecules of topoi or "clusters of ideas"[12] that will enable us to interpret particular fragments of *The Chronicle*. We will also try to trace the formation of particular motifs which are based on a common structure, and deviate from these at the level of details. Recognizing each of the variants as a symbolic tale, we will try to recognize the particular sets of meanings conditioning its content.

In the Middle Ages, a symbol was not understood to be an arbitrary sign. As has been shown by Michel Pastoureau, medieval scholars viewed symbols as being motivated by their etymology as well as by analogy to other phenomena (and by inversion of such an analogy); they recognized them in relation to a particular sign in the context of a larger system of metonymic meanings.[13] A symbol, like the world, was purposeful. Its scope, connected with such a purposeful interpretation, was dynamic, though limited within a particular scope of meanings.

Therefore, detailed elements of a narrative – such as toponyms or the names of rulers – are as important as the system in which they were placed (because of

8 Ernst Robert Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York 1953), [first German edition 1948].

9 Curtius, *European Literature*, p. 76.

10 Leo Spitzer, *Linguistics and Literary History. Essays in Stylistics* (Princeton, 1948).

11 Iconological interpretation referring to "socio-cultural situation": Jarosław Marek Rymkiewicz, "Historyczna topika i wieczne topoi," in idem *Myśli różne o ogrodach* (Warsaw, 2010), pp. 18–19 [first edition 1968]; see: Erwin Panofsky, "Introductory," in idem *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 3–33.

12 Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski*, pp. 33–35.

13 Michel Pastoureau, *Średniowieczna gra symboli* (Warsaw, 2006), pp. 15–28. [originally published in French as *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris 2004)].

the etymological significance attributed to them in the Middle Ages). Umberto Eco noticed that a medieval interpreter could read a given narrative account in many ways, within the frames of a given system of values determined by the convention of presenting history as part of a purposeful process.[14]

Perhaps the dynamism of details within certain confined semantic structures, conventionalized symbols, or set motifs, can enable us to gain insight into the ideological assumptions of the Priest of Duklja's work. Although we know neither the milieu in which he wrote, nor the target group of his readers, the very awareness of the existence of these categories allows us today to perceive *Regnum Sclavorum* as a body of text carrying certain meanings.

Clifford Geertz had attributed the role of regulation of social processes to symbols and signs. According to him, a text would be the transmitter of certain values and meanings which – depending on the interpretation – would somehow affect the community in which they were present.[15] In this way, we can move our consideration of symbols from the plane of permanent structures and unchanging conventions, into the tissue of the social determinants of a text – a matter much more susceptible to changes. Jan Assmann wrote about the transmission of "meanings" in the context of the functioning of a community. He believed that memory of the past helped societies build a vision of the world in which they functioned. He also reduced the term "space" to its non-geographical meaning, recognizing that its order may also constitute a certain thought construct enclosed in "figures of memory" – a category similar to the earlier Maurice Halbwachs' "icons of memory".[16] In this sense, a medieval text (such as the one that we deal with in *Regnum Sclavorum*) would be able to influence not only the image of the past and the memory of a community about itself, but would also be able to organize the space, taking into account historically important places and symbols around which specific contents accumulate.

The composition of *Il regno de gli Slavi* by Orbini was based on local historiography. The arrangement of the work was strictly subordinated to the category of space.[17] Orbni's work included an Italian translation of *Regnum Sclavorum*, and it is possible that the organization of the content around

14 Umberto Eco, *Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 1994), p. 51.

15 Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretative Theory of Culture," in idem, *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays* (New York, 1973), pp. 3–30.

16 Jan Assmann, *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych* (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 53–58.

17 Snježana Husić, "Teritorijalna organizacija pripovijedanja u Orbinijevu 'Kraljevstvu Slovena'," *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 1 (2011), no. 43, pp. 91–95.

clusters of regional motifs had diffused into *Il regno de gli Slavi* from that work.[18] In our opinion, this feature of the plot of *Regnum Sclavorum* – the movable nature of the described centre – corresponds with the multitude of patterns of a ruler as presented in Orbini's work. The kingdom, in the description by the Priest of Duklja, is subject to constant reinvention, a process of renewal and demorphization. The anonymous author placed specific markers in his work; a turn in a plot-related understanding of space, of the role of a ruler, and of the tasks assigned to him. Elements of a "new beginning" appear in *Regnum Sclavorum* at least four times. Each time they modify the meaning and the historical role of the Slavic kings and the community, and emphasize new challenges, where meeting these challenges was considered the fulfilment of the ruler's duties.

6 The Image of a Ruler and the Concept of "the Beginning" in the Work by the Priest of Duklja

As the Priest of Duklja noted: When Constantine arrived at the court of the Slavic King Svetopelek, he managed to persuade the king to be baptized. Immediately after this event, there was a congress in which the legates of Pope Stephen and deputies of the Emperor Michael participated. During this synod, Svetopelek was crowned by Archbishop Honorius. At that time, the boundary of his vast realm was also marked, administrative issues were regulated, and rights were granted.

This comprehensive image demands a contextual framework. The recognizable names Svetopelek and Constantine, as well as the much more vague identities of the pope, the emperor and the archbishop, were presented in a completely fantastic constellation which does not appear in other sources. With a lack of any basic historical context regarding the circumstances of the creation of *The Chronicle*, as well as the almost autonomous character of the

18 According to Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, similarity between the works of Orbini and the Priest of Duklja resulted from the continuity of Dalmatian historiography, which in the humanistic period often reworked older chronicle sources. Bercoff noticed a similar process in the relationship between Orbini and authors such as Šižgorić (Sizgoreus) and Pribojević (Priboevius). She also emphasized that "it is probably not a coincidence that he [Orbini] could incorporate into his work the entire Italian translation of the Diocleates [the Priest of Duklja] without fear that the reader of Serbian history would notice or feel the transition from the text of a medieval chronicler to the text of Orbini!", see: eadem, "'Królestwo Słowian' Maura Orbiniego a europejskie dziejopisarstwo XVI w.," in eadem, *Królestwo Słowian. Historiografia Renesansu i Baroku w krajach Słowiańskich* (Izabelin, 1998), p. 92, footnote 21.

events described in the work, we are forced to seek these references wherever possible. Such tedious studies sometimes resemble guesswork, and they are often as ineffective as fortune-telling. However, we cannot forget that the context, although unknown, had to exist – *Regnum Sclavorum* had its author and its milieu of readers; it was connected to a particular place (or several places), and written at a certain time; it passed through the process of developing its form over a longer period. *The Chronicle* is a carrier of noticeable content related to a certain oral or written tradition, to which we have almost no access today.

The rulers in the work by the Priest of Duklja are not a product of (just) his imagination. Their images had to correspond to a pattern known to the author, and needed to have been modelled in a literary manner on such a cultural pattern. The very structure of the work seems to confirm such a supposition. Regardless of whether *Regnum Sclavorum* was written earlier in the Middle Ages and based on oral tradition, or, as some claim, it is a brilliant forgery inspired by older sources[19] – it was certainly connected to an elaborate system of references immersed in local tradition. The characterization of the rulers of the Kingdom of the Slavs was shaped not only by conventional rhetoric, but also by not-so-strictly formalized symbols and motifs, perhaps even referring to the vague concept of the archetype. Scraps of older sources or oral legends can be identified as if crammed between the lines of text.

Each of the narrative schemes discussed in this work refer to the idea of the "Beginning".[20] In *Regnum Sclavorum*, it is possible to distinguish several "starting points", when the concepts of power, ruler and royalty itself were revalorized. From these fictional origins we will try to derive the dynamics of later events. Each of the breakthrough events of this type was associated with a differently-characterized royal figure.

It should be realized that the changes in the models of an ideal ruler were to a certain extent conditioned by the material available to the Priest of Duklja. In this respect, he was limited by his own imagination and by earlier tradition. Shaping the models of an ideal ruler was also an intentional procedure,

---

19 This will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

20 The idea of the "beginning" can be considered in the reference to the ideas of Paul Ricœur, who – citing the research of Krzysztof Pomian – distinguished four categories of historical time: chronometry, chronology, chronography and chronosophy. He referred them respectively to the following spheres: "sphere of events", "sphere of repetitions", "sphere of epochs", and "sphere of structures". The idea of "Beginning" can be analysed within each of them, as "event", "repetition", "moment of transition", and an element of presenting history as a purposive process. See: Paul Ricœur, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie* (Krakow, 2006), pp. 205–206.

recognizable to the milieu of readers. The point of the "Beginning" was to become a unique moment, a time when the kingdom (though fictitious) described by the Priest of Duklja gained new features, and its rulers were legitimized in a new way.

There are four distinguishable "points of creation" in *Regnum Sclavorum* which are closely related to the specific "code of history" presented by the author. In the Middle Ages (though not only then), the time the kingdom came into being was given a special meaning, in being able to affect repetitive elements of reality. In this context, the heroes of the "Origins" are the permanent models that the Priest of Duklja had to take into consideration while creating the ideology of the fictitious realm he was to describe. Another important element of the chronicle, providing the leitmotif of the narrative, is the history of the dynasty. Special significance needed to be given in his work to emphasize its continuity. By means of specific narrative constructs, the Priest of Duklja introduced new content into the history of the dynasty and redefined the image of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The origin of the kingdom was marked by the invasion of the Goths and the reign of the pagan kings; the second early phase of its inception – the baptism and the granting of borders and rights to the realm at the Synod in Dalma during Svetopelek's reign – was the act of the proper foundation of the kingdom; the third stage in its creation – the renewal of the kingdom and the foundation of Ragusa by King Pavlimir Bello – ended the period of the interregnum; and finally the fourth step – marked by the death of the king-martyr Vladimir – was the founding sacrifice for the auspicious continuation of the kingdom.

The four abovementioned fragments look particularly important for the concept of authority and for the image of a ruler in the Priest of Duklja's work. Their multi-threaded construction perfectly predestined them for the role of narrative connectors. Each could be assigned to the role of re-opening – not only shifting the narrative focus onto new tracks, but above all redefining the concepts of the king, the kingdom and the community of subjects, providing models and principles according to which the kingdom described by the Priest of Duklja was supposed to function. Each of the selected narrative schemes is the subject of a separate chapter (Chapters 3 to 6).

1. The protagonists of the first chapter are Goth leaders, mainly Totila and Ostroil. While analysing the origins of the kingdom in *Regnum Sclavorum* in the context of legends about the origin and migration of the people, we will attempt to determine what features the author of the text attributed to the Goth rulers, and to what extent they refer to perceptible traditions of the Gothic origins of the Slavs or to the conquest of Dalmatia by the barbarians. We will also examine the function of starting the entire narrative in such a way.

2. The protagonist of the second chapter is the king Svetopelek, with his activities during the Synod in Dalma as the main issue under discussion. In this part we will refer to the image of the second phase and the proper foundation of the kingdom. We will describe those features of Svetopelek's reign that allowed him to reform the state. We will look at the extent to which the Priest of Duklja used written sources known to him to present the Kingdom of the Slavs; we will also discuss the main foundations of this form of presentation. Then, we will examine the role played in these processes by the missionary named Constantine.

3. In the fifth chapter we will discuss the theme of Pavlimir Bello, the foundation of Ragusa and the renewal of the kingdom. We will examine the origins of the motif of a returning king in the older story about how Ragusa was founded. We will also discuss the results of the narrative procedure of attaching this figure to the course of events related by the Priest of Duklja. We will analyse the three stages of Pavlimir's activity, showing how his actions were the aftermath of a tradition well-known to the author, and how they reflected his literary intention.

4. In the sixth chapter the figure of King Vladimir will be discussed. We will show how, by means of emphasizing the role of the king-martyr, the Priest of Duklja constructed another founding legend for the fictitious realm described by him. We will reflect on the sources of this narrative and how it was related to the cult of Saint Jovan Vladimir in the Balkans. We will also be interested in using the rhetoric typical of hagiographies by the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

5. The excursus in Chapter 7 is dedicated to the tale of the violent death of King Zvonimir presented in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*. We will analyse the sources of this legend and will try to show how the ending of the Croatian version distinguished the overall meaning of this variant from the Latin version of the work.

For each of the narrative episodes we will also try to answer the following auxiliary questions:

- From which elements was the story built? What images of the ruler and his reign emerge from it?
- What was the function of the motif in the narrative concept of *Regnum Sclavorum*? (In Chapter 7: in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*).
- To what tradition did the author refer (if any)?
- Is it possible to assign particular royal figures to the model of a medieval ruler?

The five abovementioned chapters will be preceded by a sketch on the historiography of studies on *The Chronicle*.

7 Studies on the Royal Authority: the Model of an Ideal Ruler

The rulers of the Kingdom of the Slavs were assigned various features in the Priest of Duklja's work. Some of them served as a negative example, while others were considered by the chronicler as perfect monarchs and models to follow. We will focus primarily on the kings of the latter category. It was these figures that legitimized the royal dynasty and showed the principles according to which the Kingdom of the Slavs should be ruled.

There is a long and rich tradition of studies of authority in the Middle Ages that has already been discussed and recapitulated many times. Gábor Klaniczay, in the introduction to his work dedicated to the holy monarchs of Hungary, distinguished two milestones in modern studies on the notion of medieval royalty. The first was the work by Fritz Kern, published in 1914,[21] distinguishing two sources of authority: God's favour and the social contract,[22] and the second, Marc Bloch's work, published in 1924,[23] introducing the category of "*les rois thaumaturges*" – kings-magic-workers or kings-miracle-workers – and analysed regal ideology for the first time with methods typical of cultural anthropology and ethnology, which were still to some extent under the influence of *The Golden Bough* by James George Frazer.[24]

Kern's findings, concerning the symbolism of the medieval state and the importance of coronation ceremonies, served as inspiration to Percy Ernst Schramm.[25] His "school" of studies on the idea of royal authority and its *ordines* was considered by János Bak as the most characteristic for historiography in the mid-twentieth century,[26] along with the thoughts by Walter

21 Fritz Kern, *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* (Leipzig, 1914) [first English edition: *Kingship and Law* (New York 1956)].

22 Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge 2002), p. 3.

23 Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (New York, 2015); see: Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 4–5.

24 James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion*, vol. 1–2 (London, 1890).

25 Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechtzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1–3 (Stuttgart, 19541956); see: János M. Bak, "Medieval Symbology of the State: Percy E. Schramm's Contribution," *Viator* 4 (1973), pp. 33–63.

26 János M. Bak, "Introduction. Coronation Studies – Past, Present, and Future," in *Coronations. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. idem (Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford, 1990), p. 4.

Ullmann on the legal conditioning of medieval monarchies,[27] and the trend initiated by the concept of "king's two bodies" by Ernst Kantorowicz and its role in changing the way of understanding political theology.[28]

As was noted by Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić in her essay on royal sanctity, the attributes of royal authority in the Middle Ages may have three roots: (1) those related to the ideology of Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors;[29] (2) pagan sources of power by barbarian leaders, and (3) elements directly related to Christianity, referring to the figures of the Old Testament kings and judges, or the New Testament figure of Christ the King and the cult of saints.

The significance of the pagan factor was emphasized by Karl Hauck, who combined the idea of the sanctity of the rulers and the supernatural properties attributed to royal authority, with the heritage of Germanic paganism and the cult of Wōtan in particular.[30] Hauck's positions were criticized by František Graus, who stressed, above all, Christian influences in the process of development of the medieval institution of kingship.[31] Nevertheless, Hauck's concept, linking the cultural order of early medieval societies with the sanctity of their "charismatic" rulers, still finds many followers.[32]

One of them, and certainly the most interesting, is Jacek Banaszkiewicz, who derived his reflection on the myth-based structure of Indo-European legends from Georges Dumézil's system, while at the same time trying to show the dynamic impact of legendary accounts on the formation of groups and

27 Walter Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship* (London, 1969); idem, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1975).

28 Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957).

29 See: Frank Kolb, *Ideał późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja* (Poznań, 2008); František Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background*, vol. 1–2 (Washington 1966).

30 Karl Hauck, "Geblütsheiligkeit," in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet*, eds. Bernhard Bischoff, Suso Brechter (Sankt Ottilien, 1950), pp. 187–240; idem, "Herrschaftszeichen eines wodanischen Königtums," *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 14 (1954), pp. 9–66; idem, "Lebensnormen und Kultmythen in germanischen Stammes- und Herrschergenealogien," *Saeculum* 6 (1955), pp. 186–223.

31 František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reiche der Merowinger* (Prague, 1965).

32 Among others: Herwig Wolfram, "Origo et religio. Etnische Traditionen und Literatur in frühmittelalterlischen Quellen," in *Mittelalterliche Annäherung an eine fremde Zeit*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann (Regensburg, 1993), pp. 26–39; Hermann Moisl, "Kingship and Orally Transmitted 'Stammestradition' among the Lombards and Franks," in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, eds. Herwig Wolfram, Andreas Schwarcz (Vienna 1985), pp. 111–119.

the creation of intra-community relations.[33] Banaszkiewicz was particularly interested in the formation of communities. He associated them with the figure of a king-founder bearing the features of a cultural hero or a semi-mythical organizer of the newly emerging ethnos.

However, the pagan elements were certainly not the only influence on the image of an ideal ruler. Biblical patterns, heritage of antiquity, medieval legends and moral norms, passed down through romances, chronicles or sapiential literature, gradually formed an increasingly dense network of connections, creating new models of ideal rulers while adapting the old ones, as well as conditioning their popularity. The literary image of a medieval ruler often consisted of elements belonging to several patterns: *rex iustus* – a just king – in certain situations could also be presented as an ideal warrior, a "good king" and even a martyr to the faith, which was often conditioned by the narrative situation and the related choice of the most appropriate model that would emphasize the noble qualities of a monarch.

Attempts to determine the typology of an ideal ruler and its development in the period of the High Middle Ages and Late Middle Ages are very interesting, especially in the areas of "Younger Europe", the periphery of the medieval Christendom. Robert Antonín recently comprehensively diagnosed these models, focusing on the territories of medieval Bohemia. He not only dared to recognize the patterns used to construct the narratives about the kings, but also described the sources and meaning of particular images of a ruler in the medieval Czech chronicles.[34]

The abovementioned works by Klaniczay and Marjanović-Dušanić focused on the phenomenon of a specific category of rulers – the holy kings – and tried to link it with the development of dynastic ideologies in medieval Hungary and Serbia since the Middle Ages almost to contemporary times. Both scholars were inspired by Robert Folz, who had already in the 1980s tried to place a chronological perspective over somehow static interpretations of models of holy rulers.[35] Folz distinguished three examples of such rulers: (1) a king-martyr, (2) a king-confessor, and (3) a king-miracle-worker, all three recognized by him as basic types. According to Folz, the first was the most popular in the

33 It is worth mentioning here, in particular, an article which is part of a large number of studies initiated by Hauck: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Origo et religio – wersja słowiańska (o sposobach budowania tożsamości wspólnotowej w społecznościach wcześniejszego średniowiecza – 'wzorcotwórcze pamiątki' i opowieści o nich)," in idem, *Trzy po trzy o dziesiątym wieku* (Krakow, 2014), pp. 315–349 [first publication in 1998.].

34 Robert Antonín, *Ideální panovník českého středověku. Kulturně-historická skica z dějin středověkého myšlení* (Prague, 2013).

35 Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du moyen âge en Occident* (*VI*^{e}*–XIII*^{e} *siècles*) (Brussels, 1984).

early Middle Ages, the second in the period between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, and the third began to dominate in narratives about holy kings from the second half of the thirteenth century.

Klaniczay, who based his works on the propositions by Folz, slightly modified this sequence. He distinguished three periods: (1) the one dominated by the model of a holy and charismatic king strongly inspired by pagan heritage; (2) the one dominated by the model of a king-martyr, popular primarily in the British Isles and the peripheries of Christendom; and (3) the one dominated by the model of a just ruler (*rex iustus et bonus*) that began in the eleventh century, and – as a result of the Crusades, and the increasingly popular cult of Charlemagne – transformed into the model of a modest king, a courteous knight protecting his homeland (*athleta patriae*).[36] According to Klaniczay, this evolution of the models of holy kings was also characteristic for central Europe.

Marjanović-Dušanić proposed a typology of Serbian cults of holy kings different to that presented by Klaniczay. The ideology of the Nemanjić dynasty developed not only under the influence of the Byzantine symbolism of imperial authority, but – according to Marjanović-Dušanić – was also evidently affected by the local cults of ancestors which saturated it with specific endemic features.[37] Marjanović-Dušanić distinguished three main models of Serbian ruler: (1) the sacred founder of the dynasty, Stefan Nemanja, similar to the type *rex renitens*[38] and the models of Byzantine ruler-monks; (2) the cult of Saint Sava associated with the project she called “the symphony of the church and the state”; and (3) the cult of the holy dynasty dating from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in which the Serbian rulers were sanctified by membership of the Nemanjić family.[39]

Both typologies will be important for us, as they characterize the development of the model of an ideal ruler in regions adjacent to the area described by the Priest of Duklja (Serbia, known at that time as the Grand Principality of Raška, was allegedly even a part of the Kingdom of the Slavs). Unfortunately, without knowledge of the circumstances and the time of creation of *Regnum*

36 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 15–18.

37 Recent Polish publications are mainly literary studies, with no references to the historical background of the development of Serbian dynastic cults. See: Izabela Lis-Wielgosz, “Władza i rodowód. O wizerunku władcy w staroserbskiej literaturze,” *Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne* 5 (2013), pp. 173–184.

38 About this pattern in the Western historiography see: Björn Weiler, “The Rex renitens and the Medieval Idea of Kingship, ca. 900–ca. 1250,” *Viator* 31 (2000), pp. 1–42.

39 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj. Kult Stefana Dečanskog* (Belgrade, 2007), pp. 98–99 and passim.

Sclavorum, the application of a comparative method on a broader scale is impossible. As we shall see, this Latin work also presents a whole range of exemplary rulers. However, they can often be reduced to being "universal examples" and, with the exception of King Vladimir, it is difficult to identify the exact origin of the models, thus it is only possible to reflect on the ideological meaning they carried.

It should be emphasized that neither this short introduction, nor the present work as a whole, aspires to be a detailed description of the models of an ideal ruler existing in the Middle Ages, and neither does it examine their philosophical, literary or ideological foundations in their entire diversity. On the contrary, the models of rulers will serve as a key to interpret selected images in the Priest of Duklja's work, where the selection of typical features may prove helpful in understanding the underlying narrative content.

8 Connection between *Regnum Sclavorum* and Local Tradition

Hypotheses regarding the way *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* was composed are discussed in the next chapter. It should be noted that the work was probably based on earlier texts that did not survive, and the same is true of its Latin version, *Regnum Sclavorum*. Such conclusions can be drawn from the sudden changes in narration, usually filled with short annalistic information and often without warning turning into much more comprehensive tales. The texts used by the Priest of Duklja, as well as the very nature of the information taken by him from other sources, including oral ones, undoubtedly influenced the shape of the vision of history proposed by him.

To determine which components in the extant narrative were the author's own idea, and what was borrowed from older content, we would have to reconstruct the very process of reforming the tradition related to a particular motif; however, that is impossible for the lack of sources. Nevertheless, we will try to use other, usually local, accounts closely associated with the events described in selected fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum*. The narratives include: the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* (as an exception: early modern translations of the text), and other local narrative sources from the period of the High Middle Ages (as an exception: early modern literature, mainly from the area of Dubrovnik). Besides the narrative sources, we will occasionally use documents and references to monuments of material culture that seem to be related to the plot in question.

Only half of the episodes we selected for analysis are mentioned in the Croatian text of *The Chronicle*. This version will help us as a reference point in the tale of the Goths and the Synod in Dalma described in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

Plots of the Croatian and Latin versions irretrievably split at the point of the expulsion of King Radoslav, immediately before the motif of Pavlimir Bello was introduced in *Regnum Sclavorum*. The tale of Radoslav in the Croatian variant differs from the one described in the Latin version, thus we used the opportunity to compare both narratives while describing the events that preceded the introduction of Pavlimir. The Croatian version does not mention the founding of Ragusa by Pavlimir Bello or the legend of King Vladimir.

Among the narrative sources from the period of the High Middle Ages and Late Middle Ages or early modern period, the work of Thomas the Archdeacon (also known as Thomas of Split) is distinguished as a basic example and a reference point of the phenomenon of "Gothomania" that linked the appearance of the Slavs in Illyricum with the invasion of the Goths. The relationship between Constantine and the King Svetopelek is exhaustively discussed in the comprehensive hagiography of the Solun Brothers – St. Cyril and St. Methodius – including several themes repeated in *Regnum Sclavorum*. The legend of Pavlimir Bello seems to correspond with the late medieval and modern literature of Ragusa. Byzantine chronicles mentioned King Vladimir, who later became an object of worship and a literary hero. King Zvonimir, the protagonist of the excursus, is mentioned in Croatian, Dalmatian and Hungarian historiography. These sources determine only the basic scope for comparative studies of particular legendary motifs, and so this study has also included sources from other parts of Europe wherever it seemed useful, turning in the first place to sources from adjacent regions.

9 *Regnum Sclavorum* and Historiography

The Latin version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* is a unique work, considered to be one of the oldest literary sources describing the history of southern Slavonic countries. It is no wonder that since the first publication in the mid-seventeenth century (or perhaps even from the times of Tuberon and Orbini) it has been one of the axes around which the historiographical reflection of the region was shaped.

Scholars offered numerous and often mutually exclusive hypotheses concerning the work. For some time the authenticity of *Regnum Sclavorum* had been questioned, just as had several other pieces of medieval literature of Slavic countries: it will suffice to mention the claims by Edward Keenan and other scholars that *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* is a forgery,[40] or the dispute

40 On the debate concerning *The Tale of Igor's Campaign* see: Tomasz Hodana, "Najnowsze spory o autentyczność 'Słowa o wyprawie Igora'," *Przegląd Rusycystyczny* 3 (2011), pp. 5–32.

among Czech historians over the date of origin of the work known as *Legenda Christiani* [*Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmile ave eius*].[41]

Writing about history is a discursive act. Hayden White showed that a work by historians, from the very nature of the process of constructing a "historical fact", is similar to the work of a prose-writer, and its perspective – far from being objective – is highly personalized.[42] Moreover, the history of studies of a text affects our view and becomes a part of the text itself.

David Kalhous, facing the problem of a similar burden in the case of *Legenda Christiani*, postulated the application of game theory terminology into historiography, in order to establish a model interpretation of historiographic production.[43] Indeed, the problem of the prevalence of some views over others, the temporary success of some hypotheses, and the decline of those which had previously enjoyed great popularity, is all too visible – as is the case for scholarly literature on *Regnum Sclavorum*. Kalhous, referring to Mark Johnson and George Lakoff's concept,[44] wrote about "conceptual metaphors" from which the arguments of historians are constructed. Such concepts are never "innocent". Quite the contrary: language is the weapon of a historiographic war.[45] This war continues, and the present work is a modest participant. Describing the arguments of the possibly many parties to the conflict will constitute its essential element.

41 The history of this controversy was discussed in detail by David Kalhous, *'Legenda Christiani' and Modern Historiography* (Leiden/Boston, 2015).

42 See: Hayden White, *Proza historyczna* (Krakow, 2009). Frank Ankersmit is another scholar who wrote about the relationship between a historical fact, narrative, historiography and metaphor; See for example his works: *Historical representation* (Stanford, 2001), and *Political representation* (Stanford, 2002).

43 Kalhous, *'Legenda Christiani'*, p. 7.

44 George Lakoff, Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 2003).

45 Kalhous, *'Legenda Christiani'*, p. 4.

CHAPTER 2

The Chronicle of the Priest of Dukjla: Texts, Variants, the Current State of Research

1 Manuscripts and Versions

"Despite the careful searching of public and private libraries in Dalmatia (primarily in Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir and Zadar), as well as in Italy (especially in Venice, Padua, Bologna, Milan, Florence, Naples and Bari), it was impossible to find any manuscript of a Latin version older than that copied by Ivan Lucije circa 1650 and stored in the Vatican Library in Rome".[1] This was noted by Ferdinand Šišić at the start of the introduction to his edition of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. His reference to Lucije is to the seventeenth-century Trogirian historian Johannes Lucius,[2] the editor of the oldest version of *The Chronicle* in Latin: *Regnum Sclavorum*. The copy mentioned by Šiśić, stored in the Vatican Library, is sometimes referred to as the "V. redaction".

Scholars also have at their disposal another Latin manuscript, the so-called Belgrade manuscript (sometimes called the "B. redaction"), discovered as late as 1962, and only varying slightly from the Vatican version.[3] Both manuscripts are dated to a similar period (1648–1649). The Belgrade manuscript is much less accurate and includes many errors due to the copyist's inaccuracy.[4] However, Tibor Živković noted that in some places it is more useful than the Vatican manuscript, which served as the basis for the critical editions of *The Chronicle*.[5] However, there are no significant narrative variations between the two Latin versions.

The "V. manuscript" published by Lucius was probably based on the now lost manuscript belonging to Rafael Levaković, the Archbishop of Ohrid.

1 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 26–27.

2 On the biography and writings of Lucius see: Miroslav Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius. Otac hrvatske historiogafije* (Zagreb, 1994). On the significance of his edition of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, pp. 138–141.

3 *Gesta regum Sclavorum*, ed. Tibor Živković, v. 1 (Belgrade, 2009), pp. IV–V.

4 Miroslav Kurelac, "Nepoznati rukopis 'Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina'," *Historijski zbornik* 21–22 (1968–1969), pp. 651–653. A translation of the Belgrade manuscript was included in Slavko Mijušković's *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina. Uvod, prevod i komentar*; a comprehensive description of it is also found in Živković's critical edition of the *Gesta Regum Sclavorum*.

5 *Gesta regum Sclavorum*, vol. 1, pp. II–V.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_003

Levaković presumably found it in Kotor. In one of his letters addressed to Rome, he noted in 1648 that he had acquired certain documents regarding the "kings of Dalmatia and Serbia" given to him by "signor Pasquali", a vicar of the Bishop of Kotor.[6] According to Živković, differences between the Vatican and Belgrade manuscripts indicate that both were based on the same manuscript, precisely the one discovered by Levaković.[7]

Researchers also have access to slightly different version of the text which is related to the Latin text of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Unfortunately, the text has been distorted through translation. In 1601, Mauro Orbini included an Italian translation of *Regnum Sclavorum* in the second part of his *Il regno de gli Slavi*.[8] The text, titled *La storia de'rè Dalmatia et altri luoghi vicini dell'Illirico*,[9] differs slightly from both Latin manuscripts. However, it is the oldest text in which a narrative has been preserved in the shape known from later Latin versions.

Šišić, complaining about the Vatican manuscript, believed that "Orbini's Italian translation published in 1601 proves that at least in some places he had at his disposal a noticeably better text, which disappeared without a trace or was lost".[10] The fact that Orbini used a somewhat broader narrative, especially in the chapter on King Vladimir, was also discussed by Slavko Mijušković, Nikola Banašević and later by Jan Leśny.[11] Živković, however, noticed that the Italian translation "although sometimes closer to the original", could be based on the same manuscript tradition as the copy once owned by Pasquali and later passed by him to Levaković. Živković also claimed that Orbini, while working on his own *Il Regno de gli Slavi*, used three slightly differing manuscripts of *Regnum Sclavorum* and at least one Slavic translation of the text.[12]

Živković assumed that the oldest manuscript of *Regnum Sclavorum* was brought to Dalmatia from Hungary.[13] The likely presence of the *Regnum Sclavorum* in the Ragusa region was mentioned by the Renaissance author Ludovicus Tuberon (1459–1524). It is accepted that he had a copy of an unknown work, which he called *Docleatis auctoris Annales*. In his *Commentarii*

---

6 Euzebije Fermendžin, "Listovi o izdanju glagolskih crkvenih knjiga i o drugih književnih poslovih u Hrvatskoj od god. 1620–1648," *Starine* 24 (1891), pp. 38–40; Tibor Živković, *Gesta regum Sclavorum*, vol. 2 (Belgrade, 2009), p. 38.

7 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 38–41.

8 Mauro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi. Hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni* (Pesaro, 1601).

9 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 204–241.

10 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 28.

11 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, pp. 42–46; Nikola Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina i narodna predanja* (Belgrade, 1971), pp. 138–142, 169–171; Jan Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian czyli Latopis Popa Dukljanina* (Warsaw, 1988), pp. 26–29.

12 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 41.

13 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 41.

de temporibus suis he described the book as follows: "Quae quidem scripta, licet essent es uetustissima specie, quum ad manus meas peruenere, non tamen adeo multorum annorum tabe corrupta erant, ut legi non possent" (These scriptures, though they looked very old when they fell into my hands, had not however been destroyed by so many years of rotting to the extent that they could not be read).[14] According to Živković, Tuberon brought the manuscript – probably on parchment – back from a trip to Kalocsa where he had visited his friend Gregory (Grgur) Frankopan, Archbishop of Kalocsa and Bačka. It is not clear who offered him a copy of *Regnum Sclavorum*; it could have been Frankopan, to whom *Commentarii* was dedicated, or Banfi, the Archdeacon of Bačka, who had asked Tuberon to describe the origins of Ragusa.[15] Živković's hypothesis of the Hungarian origins of the manuscript seems to be nothing but a supposition. It is not clear how the Latin translation of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* appeared in the Ragusa region. It is also not known whether Orbini used the same manuscript as Tuberon used when he was translating it into Italian. It is probable that he had access to a local manuscript of *Commentarii*, possibly the copy from the library of the Benedictine congregation on the island of Mljet, where Tuberon's collection of books was stored. In the same place Orbini could also find a copy of the old record by "Diocleata" (i.e. the man from Dioclea/Duklja) left by Tuberon.[16]

It is clear not only from Orbini's Italian translation of *The Chronicle* but also from all his original works that he used a Latin manuscript as his main source. He was also familiar with the version of the text that survived in the Croatian variant of *The Chronicle*; he probably had access to the Latin translation of this version made by Marko Marulić. This is evidenced by the fragments in which Orbini incidentally explained differences between the Latin and Croatian versions of *The Chronicle*. His remarks are the first evidence that the Croatian text was known in the Ragusa region. Orbini probably did not consider the Croatian text to be "just a translation" of *Regnum Sclavorum*, because he emphasized the differences in both texts and tried to compare them critically.[17]

---

14 *Lvdovici Tvberonis Dalmatae abbatis Comentarii de temporibvs svis*, ed. Vladimir Rezar (Zagreb 2001), p. 87; for information about Tuberon, see: Piotr Wróbel, "Dubrownicki benedyktyn Ludwik Tuberon De Crieva (Crijević) i jego zarys dziejów Turcji w pamiętniku politycznym 'Commentarii de temporibus suis'," *Balcanica Poznaniensia* 21 (2014), pp. 52–53.

15 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 41–47.

16 Vladimir Rezar, "Dubrovački humanistički historiograf Ludovik Crijević Tuberon," *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 37 (1999), p. 60.

17 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 42.

The Croatian text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* – the so-called "H. redaction", or *The Croatian Chronicle* – also raises many doubts today. It survived as the oldest manuscript of *The Chronicle* dating back to 1546 and is kept in the Vatican Library. The manuscript was made by Jerolim Kaletić on the basis of another copy, now missing, but which was found by Dominik Papalić circa 1500 in the Kačić family's manor-house. The Croatian version is a fairly accurate translation of the first twenty-three chapters of *Regnum Sclavorum* (according to the division proposed by Črnčić).[18] The most important difference between the two versions is the description of the death of King Zvonimir at the end of the narrative, which is absent in the Latin text. Nowadays, most historians accept that the Croatian version is a translation of one of the versions of *Regnum Sclavorum*, to which an alternative ending was added. The translation was probably made between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. However, some historians appreciate this version, and present a much more complex picture of the mutual diffusion between the two main variants of *The Chronicle*.

The manuscript found by Papalić became the basis of a Latin translation, made at his request by the poet Marko Marulić (Marcus Marulus) in 1510. The translation was copied several times between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[19] Differences between the available copy made by Kaletić and Marulić's translation are evident. However, it is not clear whether Kaletić made the copy negligently, or whether Marulić supplemented and corrected the text while translating it. The version by Marulić is commonly known as the "M. redaction". As Jan Leśny noted, it was the only version that appeared fairly often in manuscripts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[20] Interestingly, the Latin translation by Marulić was included in both volumes containing the manuscripts of the Latin version of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

---

18 Introduced in the edition: *Popa Dukljanina Lêtopis po latinsku i toga nekoliko i još nešto po hrvatsku po prepisu popa Jerolima Kaletića*, ed. Ivan Črnčić (Kraljevica, 1874).

19 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 12. Miroslav Kurelac speculated that the Belgrade manuscript was an introduction to a larger work by Marulić: *Inscriptiones latinae antiquae Salonis repertae*, see: Kurelac, "Nepoznati rukopis"; idem, "An Unknown Manuscript of the 'Annals of Presbyter Dukljanin'," *Bulletin Scientifique Conseil des Academies des Sciences et des Arts de la RSF de Yougoslavie. Section B: Sciences Humaines* 4–6 (1970), no. 6 (15), pp. 113–114.

20 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, pp. 7–8; the storage locations of some manuscripts of the "M. redaction" are given there. For more on the copies of the Marulić's translation see: Neven Jovanović, "Manuscripts of the Regvm Dalmatię atqve Croatię gesta," *Colloquia Maruliana* 1 (2009), no. 18, pp. 5–24.

2 The Title of the Work

The title *The Chronicle* (or *The Annals*) *of the Priest of Dukljа* (*Popa Dukljanina Lêtopis*) appeared for the first time in 1874 in the edition prepared by Ivan Črnčić. It is rooted so deep in historiographical tradition that it was repeated in the three most important twentieth-century critical editions prepared by Šišić, Mošin and Mijušković. Also, the division into chapters as set by Črnčić was generally accepted by subsequent editors, apart from Mijušković. The word "ljetopis/letopis"[21] [annals] itself was a reference to Tuberon's words about *Docleatis auctoris Annales*. So it was a translation of the first alleged title of the work.

The term "priest of Duklja", or more accurately "presbyter from Diocletia", also appeared in the Vatican manuscript (*Presbyteri Diocleatis Regnum Sclavorum*), as well as in the four editions published by Lucius. Orbini provided an entirely different subtitle to his Italian translation: *La storia de're di Dalmatia et altri luoghi vicini dell'Illirico* [The history of the kings of Dalmatia and other places in vicinity of Illyricum]. Šišić believed that the title appearing on the Vatican manuscript was unknown to Orbini and was not previously widespread,[22] and his supposition was later confirmed by the discovery of the Belgrade manuscript. Renaissance authors from the Ragusa region since Tuberon's time knew the traditional story of the origin of *The Chronicle*. It was also known to Orbini, who – while mentioning the "kings of Dalmatia" in the title of his translation – in the text itself referred to "Diocleata" as the author of the work.[23] In 1605, another Ragusa-based historian, Giacomo Luccari (Croatian name: Jakov Lukarević), who also used *Regnum Sclavorum*, named its author *il Docleate* at one point,[24] but in another place in the work he called him *Prete di Doclea*.[25] This is probably the first time the author of *The Chronicle* was called a "presbyter" or a "priest".[26]

The title *Regnum Sclavorum* is a term taken from the Latin prologue. To describe his own work, Orbini used its Italian equivalent. In the context of the Latin version of *The Chronicle*, this title appeared in the edition prepared

21 *The Chronicle* is generally known as *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* in Bosnia, Croatia and Montenegro, and as *Letopis popa Dukljanina* in Serbia.

22 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 11–29.

23 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 182.

24 *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa di Giacomo di Pietro Luccari libri quatro* (Ragusa, 1790), p. 8.

25 *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa*, p. 3.

26 On relationships between *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and the modern Dubrovnik historiography, see: Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, "'Królestwo Słowian' Maura Orbiniego i 'Obszerny wyciąg' z 'Roczników Dubrownickich' Jakova Lukarevicia (Luccariego)," in *Królestwo Słowian.* pp. 78–98.

by Lucius and was later translated by Jovan Subotić, who in 1853 created the Serbian title of the work: *Dukljanskog presvitera kraljevstvo Slavena*.[27] This is echoed in the title of the Polish translation of *The Chronicle*, published by Leśny as: *Historia Królestwa Słowian* – The history of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The Polish editor did not decide to remove the traditional subtitle (*Latopis Popa Dukljanina – The Annals of the Priest of Duklja*), though he did not particularly favour it because it did not use the traditional form of annals listed by date.[28]

The problem with the title of the work was often associated with the difficulty in assigning it to a particular genre. Neither *Regnum Sclavorum* nor any versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* bear the distinctive features of medieval annals. Also, Mijušković – who used this title himself – claimed that this work certainly bears no features of "ljetopis",[29] although some parts of it are connected by a series of chronologically ordered notes which bear a resemblance to year-books. Nikola Radojčić had a different opinion; he claimed that the narrative of the work primarily bears the features of a genealogy. In his commentary on Šišić's editorial work, he titled the chronicle "*Barski rodoslov*"; this proposed title is still used by some historians, although it is not common.[30]

Živković remarked on the aptness of this choice: "The very title of this work, which was accepted in historiography – *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* – was not appropriate for a work which does not have the characteristics of *ljetopis* (the title *Barski rodoslov* is even less acceptable). Throughout the entire text there is not even one annual date, which is the main type of narration in annals and chronicles. Quite the contrary: according to the declaration of intentions by the author himself, his work is closely related to the so-called deeds of rulers (*Gesta regum*)".[31] Živković proposed that the work should be entitled *Gesta regum Sclavorum*. He found a reference for this title in the prologue, where the phrase *sclavorum regnum* appeared. He regarded it as a spelling mistake, probably made by Lucius, and proposed replacing *regnum* with *regum*, as in the title of the Belgrade manuscript: *Deocleanus in vitis Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae*. Such a change would also correspond better with the titles of *The Chronicle* in the translations by Orbini and Marulić.

---

27 *Dukljanskog presvitera kraljevstvo Slavena*, ed. Jovan Subotić, *Serbski letopis*, vol. 88, 27 (Buda, 1853), pp. 1–86.

28 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 3.

29 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, p. 92.

30 Nikola Radojčić, "Šišić F., Letopis Popa Dukljanina," *Slavia* 8 (1929), p. 170; idem, "Društveno i državno uređenje kod Srba u ranom srednjem veku – prema Barskom rodoslovu," *Glasnik Skopskog nuačnog društva*, 15 (1935), p. 25.

31 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 27.

Relatively fewer problems have been generated by the Croatian version. Marulić titled his translation *The Deeds of the Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia* (*Regvm Delmatie atque Croatie gesta*). The "H. redaction" prepared by Kukuljević Sakcinski[32] was titled *The Croatian Chronicle* and it is still sometimes called that way (especially in Croatian historiography).[33]

3 The Time and Place of Writing *The Chronicle*

Šišić believed that *Regnum Sclavorum* was written during the reign of Byzantine emperor Manuel I Komnenos, and set the *terminus ante quem* at 1200. He assumed that the work was written by a clergyman from the vicinity of Bar, a city on the coast of present-day Montenegro. The author would be a Slav, or would know the Slavonic language well. Šišić agreed with an older scholar, Konstantin Josef Jireček,[34] who believed that the main purpose of the text was to consolidate the city of Bar or even the entire region of Duklja by emphasizing the past advantages of its rulers. Šišić associated the creation of *The Chronicle* with the conflict between the bishopric in Bar and the archbishopric in Dubrovnik and suggested between 1160 and 1180 as the most probable time of writing the work.[35] Mošin returned to the older concepts of Franjo Rački and claimed that *The Chronicle* might have been written a bit earlier. His 1950 edition was prepared as part of the celebration of the alleged eight-hundredth anniversary of the work. According to him, the text might have been created for readers outside of Bar,[36] for example for representatives of the papacy who were to decide on the renewal of the local archbishopric after its temporary liquidation in 1149[37] or 1167.[38]

The timeline of the creation of the work as set by Šišić and Mošin is surprisingly consistent with the one proposed by Orbini, who claimed that the

32 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Kronika Hrvatska iz XII věka," *Arkiv za pověstnicu jugoslavensku* 1 (Zagreb, 1851), pp. 1–37.

33 Several hybrid titles were given too, see: Mladen Ančić, "Ljetopis Kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije (Vrijeme nastanka i autorstvo Hrvatske redakcije Ljetopisa popa Dukljaninia)," in *Zvonimir: kralj hrvatski*, ed. Ivo Goldstein (Zagreb, 1997), pp. 273–303.

34 Konstantin Jireček, Jovan Radojić, *Istorija Srba*, v. 1 (Belgrade, 1952), p. 131 [original German edition was published as *Geschichte der Serben* in 1911–1912].

35 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 105.

36 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, pp. 24–27. The same opinion was shared by Leśny: *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 37.

37 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 81.

38 Supported by Eduard Peričić, *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog. Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* (Zagreb, 1991), p. 73.

narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* stops in 1161.[39] Šišić tried to prove that *Regnum Sclavorum* originated in the twelfth century, referring to the earliest sources which contained traces of familiarity with the text or a tradition related to it.

One of these sources was, allegedly, monastery documents from the island of Lokrum near Dubrovnik.[40] According to Šišić, the creation of the documents was related to the dispute between the Benedictines from the island of Lokrum and the Benedictines from the island of Mljet. The controversy concerned a piece of land on Mljet, called Babino Polje, together with the church of St. Pancratius located there. In 1220 the Serbian King Stefan the First-Crowned (Nemanjić) granted these grounds to the Mljet-based Benedictines from the monastery of Saint Mary. Then, the monks from Lokrum invoked a number of documents confirming their right to the disputed land. One of them was said to have been released by Ljutovit, a *prōtospatharios epi to chrusotriclinio, hypatos* and *strategos* of Serbia and Zachlumia (Hum).[41] All documents were allegedly copies of older concessions from the eleventh century. Jireček considered the documents from Lokrum to be forgeries. So did Šišić, who performed paleographic analysis and dated them back to the mid-thirteenth century.[42] According to him, the name Ljutovit (Litouiti) was taken by the forger from *Regnum Sclavorum*, which mentioned a prince of Zachlumia of this name.[43] Šišić considered the title of "protospatharios of the *Chrysotriclinos* [throne room], hypatos and strategos" as too sophisticated to be true.[44] Exactly the same title appears in *Escorial tactikon* from 970, yet Šišić evidently did not know this text.[45]

It cannot be ruled out that some of the Lokrum-based documents may be copies of authentic charters.[46] This is the view taken by Rozana Vojvoda, who, after re-evaluating the problem of Lokrum forgeries and undertaking a

39 See: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 321.

40 See: Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 185–201.

41 Josip Vrana, "Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. st. o Babinu Polju na otoku Mljetu," *Historijski Zbornik* 13 1960, pp. 155–166; Ivan Kampuš, "Novi prilozi o lokrumskim falsifikatima i Desinoj darovnici pulsanskim benediktincima," *Historijski Zbornik* 15 (1962), pp. 317–324.

42 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 204–227.

43 *Ljetopis*, pp. 89–90.

44 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 189–190.

45 Nicolas Oikonomidès, *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e Siècles* (Paris, 1972), 273.17; 271.8; see: Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 248–249.

46 Stjepan Krizin Sakač, "Ljutovid, strateg Srbije i Zahumlja i njegova lokrumska povelja (g. 1054)," in *Mandićev zbornik u čast O. dra Dominika Mandića prigodom njegove 75-godišnjice života*, eds. Ivan Vitezić, Bazilije Pandžić, Atanazije Matanić (Rome, 1965), p. 59.

palaeographic analysis, concluded that the Ljutovit document dates back to the mid-twelfth century and could be a transcript of the mid-eleventh century original. She also believed that the rest of the documents may be much earlier and dated back to the twelfth rather than to the thirteenth century, hence the influence of *Regnum Sclavorum* on their form is difficult to determine.[47] In fact, in *Regnum Sclavorum*, Ljutovit is not named as *prōtospatharios* or as *strategos*; there are no indications that the prince might somehow be linked to the Lokrum monastery. It is difficult to state on this basis that the name was added to the forgeries by someone who had knowledge of the text of the Priest of Duklja. Another of the documents signed by Chranko (Chranco), the ruler of Zachlumia, who scholars, as early as the time of Šišić, associated with the inscription at the St. Peter Church near Trebinje that mentioned "Prince Sramko".[48] Vladimir Ćorović suggested that he was a ruler of Zachlumia.[49] Šišić, however, associated this name with Hranimir, well-known from *Regnum Sclavorum*,[50] and claimed that it was one more piece of evidence that the Lokrum monks had known the text by the Priest of Duklja.

Šišić also referred to another set of documents from the collection – in his opinion very skilfully counterfeited – of charters granting the church of St. Martin in Šumet to the Lokrum monks. These documents mention figures well-known from *Regnum Sclavorum*: King Bodin, Archbishop Peter, and King Gregory, a son of Bodin. However, as was noted by Živković, these names are known from other sources, so it is impossible to prove that *Regnum Sclavorum* directly influenced the forgers.[51] Bodin was mentioned in *The Alexiad* by Anna Komnene; the name of Archbishop Peter appears on a certain papal document from 1089; and Gregory was mentioned on the lead royal seal.[52] Šišić found it suspicious that the document did not give the name of the territories ruled by King Gregory, although this information is provided by *Regnum Sclavorum*;

47 Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University (Budapest, 2011), pp. 149–73. While writing about *Regnum Sclavorum*, Vojvoda refrained from making her own hypothesis about its origins: "I will however leave the question of the date of the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* open since it goes beyond the goal of this chapter" (p. 159).

48 Stevan Delić, "Petrov manastir kod Trebinja," *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 25 (1913), pp. 129–130.

49 Vladimir Ćorović, "Hercegovački manastiri," *Starinar* 2 (1923), pp. 69–71. See: Źivković, *Gesta regum*, p. 328.

50 *Ljetopis*, pp. 59–60.

51 Źivković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 329–331.

52 Todor Gerasimov, "Un sceau en plombe de Georges fils du roi Bodine," *Studia Historico-Philologica Serdicensia* 1 (1938), pp. 217–218.

however, this discrepancy may prove that the possible forgers drew on completely different sources.[53]

Šišić tried to find evidence that *Regnum Sclavorum* was known in other thirteenth century sources. One of them is a letter dated 24 February 1252, in which the Archbishop of Dubrovnik, Johannes of Venice, addressed the inhabitants of the city, recalling the words of the Archbishop of Bar, the famous traveller Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, who claimed that the entire Dalmatia was traditionally divided into two archbishoprics: Split and Bar. According to Šišić, such information was derived from a fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum* about the Synod in Dalma.[54] Also, in this case, the above claim can be questioned if we consider the possibility of an oral tradition of the ecclesial division of Dalmatia. It is enough to recall a similar description of the original diocesan organization in the work of Thomas of Split.[55]

The issue of the correlation between the works of Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja did not until recently raise many doubts among the publishers of *The Chronicle*. Šišić accepted the claim that some fragments of *Historia Salonitana* were inspired by the Latin version of *The Chronicle*. Mošin supported this opinion.[56] Mijušković was not convinced by Šišić's ideas, yet he did not dare to deny them either.[57] Leśny noticed that some of Šišić's arguments concerning the "early provenance of the work" could be undermined, and he also claimed that "the use of *The Chronicle* around the mid-thirteenth century by Thomas the Archdeacon of Split is quite unquestionable".[58]

Two fragments of *Historia Salonitana* indicate this correlation. The first of them would be the story of the Goths and their arrival in the Balkans; the second, the story of the origins of Ragusa.[59] There are no passages where Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle and *Regnum Sclavorum* show literal similarity. Šišić attributed this to Thomas' talent, who did not copy his sources literally.[60] The issue of the direct dependence of both narratives has been questioned

---

53 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 330.

54 *Ljetopis*, pp. 54–55.

55 *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum Atque Spalatinorum Pontificum. Archdeacon Thomas of Split History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text: Olga Perić, eds. and trans. Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, James Ross Sweeney (Budapest/New York, 2006), pp. 66–67 [hereafter cited as: *Historia Salonitana*]; Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 332–333.

56 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, p. 23.

57 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, p. 49.

58 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 26.

59 Both stories will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 5 of the present work.

60 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 50.

recently. The similarity of both texts can be explained by their belonging to the same textual circle, including the traditions of the inception of Split and of Ragusa, known in Dalmatia in the period of the High Middle Ages.[61]

Parallels between the fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum* and the vision of the establishment of Ragusa in the work by the poet Miletius – who presented local legends on the birth of the city rather than copied the work of the Priest of Duklja – can be interpreted in a similar way. As was noted by Živković, the account included in *Regnum Sclavorum* entirely omitted the motifs of the relics of the saints, which were the essence of the tale in Miletius' poem. Živković concluded ironically that "on the basis of the mere similarities of plot in congenial fragments one could say that even Constantine Porphyrogennetos was inspired by the Priest of Duklja's text".[62]

Šišić found another piece of proof for the accuracy of his proposed dating, in the fourteenth-century inscription in the cartulary listing the possessions of the monastery of St. Peter in Selo near Krilo. The inscription mentions Croatian *bans* – i.e. lords, magnates – who had held office since the reign of King Svetopelek to the time of Zvonimir, the king of the Croats. Even in this case, however, the interpretation is ambiguous. Svetopelek appears only in the Latin text of *The Chronicle*, while Zvonimir is only in the Croatian version. We do not have a text that includes the names of both kings. The inscription itself is certainly interesting and it may actually indicate that the tradition contained in the fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum* was also alive among people who were not readers (even potential readers) of *The Chronicle*.

Both Šišić and Živković agreed, however, that the Latin chronicle of Doge Andrea Dandolo, written around 1350, bears even more traces of the Latin text of *The Chronicle*. It includes the history of the Synod in Dalma and a precise description of the division of Dalmatia (among others, the division between "White Croatia" and "Red Croatia") known only from *Regnum Sclavorum*.[63] Thanks to Dandolo, this image of the geographical partition infiltrated other Italian chronicles: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum imperii decades*

61 Analysis of the diffusion of particular motifs and the similarity of interdependent reports on the origins of Ragusa was presented by Radoslav Katičić, "'Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo'. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa," in idem, *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka* (Split, 1993), pp. 141–160.

62 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 334.

63 *Andreae Danduli ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. Ester Pastorello, Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento, ordinata da L. A. Muratori, eds. Giosue Cadrucci, Vittorio Fiorini, Pietro Fedele, vol. 12, part 1 (Bologna, 1938), p. 156; *Andreas Dandolo Chronicon Venetum*, MMFH vol. 4, p. 422.

by Flavius Blondus written in 1450[64] and *Breve cronaca* written circa 1480.[65] Similarities between the fragments of Dandolo's chronicle and *Regnum Sclavorum* are so significant that in this case it would be difficult to disagree with Šišić, who saw the Doge's report as a borrowing from the Priest of Duklja's text. Therefore we can set the mid-fourteenth century as the time of the first evidence of the presence, in the Adriatic Sea region, of the fragments of the narratives known today from the *Regnum Sclavorum*.

As has been mentioned, the hypothesis of the origins of *The Chronicle* in the early twelfth century was disputed by Mijušković, who – after a philological analysis – challenged the evidence mentioned by Šišić regarding the linguistic layer of the text.[66] As an alternative to the twelfth-century genesis of *The Chronicle*, Mijušković presented his own quite concise idea, according to which the text was much younger: "the approximate time [of creation of the work] can be set between the mid-fourteenth and the mid-fifteenth century. Placing the origins of the text in this time period, I would be inclined to assume that the writing of *The Chronicle* was related to the period of the greatest power of the Balšić family, when the ambitions of its members were not limited to obtaining full control over the area of former Duklja, but were also directed outside of it".[67]

Mijušković, who studied the Vatican manuscript, criticized Šišić's claim that the annotation "etc." was introduced in the first printed edition of Lucius' work and is not present in the manuscript. According to Mlijušković, although Šišić spent several years in Rome, he never saw the manuscript with his own eyes, and his allegation that *Regnum Sclavorum* was a completed work misled Radojčić[68] and Mošin.[69] This defect in Šišić's edition had been noticed by Dominik Mandić even before Mijušković.[70]

Radojčić was the first who believed that *The Chronicle* had probably ended abruptly, perhaps as a result of the sudden death of the author, and that the

64 *Blondi Flavii Forlivensis Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum libri XXXI*, decade 2, book 2 (Basel, 1531), p. 177.

65 Quoted after Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 57–58. The chronicle claims that Svetopelek came from the lineage of the descendants of Otolio/Odrillo, a brother of Totila, the king of Goths. See: *I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti*, vol. 5, ed. Ricardo Predelli (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 243–244.

66 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, pp. 49–69.

67 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, pp. 83–84.

68 Radojčić, "Šišić F., Letopis Popa Dukljanina," p. 172.

69 Mošin, "Uvod," pp. 23–25.

70 Dominik Mandić, "Kraljestvo Hrvata i Ljetopis popa Dukljanina," in idem, *Raspravi i prilozi iz stare hrvatske povijesti* (Rome, 1963), p. 445; Savić Marković Štedimlija, "Zagonetka popa Dukljanina," *Crkva u svijetu* 1 (1969), no. 4, p. 71.

original concept of the work may have looked different.[71] Mijušković shared these assumptions but went much further. According to him, the absence of information about the Nemanjić family proves that the author intended to write another volume devoted to this Serbian dynasty, binding it with the aforementioned Balšić noble family that ruled Zeta. Mijušković suggested that *Regnum Sclavorum* was commissioned by the Balšić family. According to this concept, the Priest of Duklja was "one of us", a Slav, and the "Kingdom of the Slavs" mentioned in the title of *The Chronicle* referred to the Serbian state. Mijušković claimed that such an interpretation would be in accordance with the translated intitulation of Stefan Dušan's legal documents, in which the Latin term *Sclavonie imperator* was replaced by the Slavic phrase "Tsar of Serbs".[72] The Slavs mentioned in *The Chronicle* were identified by Mijušković with the Serbs. This unconvincing hypothesis assumed not only a broadening of the scope of critical analysis to include of the second part of the work – purely speculative, not announced by either the introduction or by the narrative structure of *Regnum Sclavorum* – but also suggesting anachronistic solutions regarding the ethnic situation in medieval Serbia, Duklja and Dalmatia.[73]

Mijušković's ideas were criticized by the Montenegrin scholar Savić Marković Štedimlija, who had ridiculed the idea of labelling the dialect (*čakavska ikavica*) of the Croatian text of *The Chronicle* as "the Serbo-Croatian language". Štedimlija pointed to the issue of Orthodoxy, which was ignored in the text, and exposed Mijušković's lack of imagination: the Priest of Duklja was allegedly a Catholic priest, yet wanted to present tsar Dušan in a favourable light, even though under his rule Catholicism was considered heresy. However, Štedimlija in his discourse did not resist the temptation of arguing for the "Croatness" of the medieval Duklja, that was indeed called "Red Croatia" in *Regnum Sclavorum*.[74] Leśny responded to the Mijušković hypothesis in an apt manner.[75]

Even before Mijušković, another Serbian historian and politician, Ljubomir Jovanović, had been a proponent of the later dating of *Regnum Sclavorum*. He believed that the core of the work was written at the turn of the thirteenth

71 Nikola Radojčić, *O najtamnijem odeljku Barskog rodoslova* (Cetinje, 1951), p. 76.

72 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, pp. 68–75.

73 A more complete list of objections to Mijušković's ideas can be found in a critical review by Radoslav Rotković: "Neistorijska paradoksiranja S. Mijuškovića o Dukljaninu," Kritika 6 (1969), pp. 370–377.

74 Štedimlija, "Zagonetka popa Dukljanina," pp. 70–76.

75 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, pp. 35–36.

and fourteenth centuries.[76] Živković set the time of creation of the work as more or less the same.[77] He claimed that *Regnum Sclavorum* was created in two stages. According to him, *The Slavonic Book* mentioned in the introduction to *The Chronicle* was a genealogy of rulers of Duklja. He claimed that this (allegedly lost) work was cut short or reworked, and incorporated to *Regnum Sclavorum*, and its structure still could be distinguished from the body of the text. Živković suggested that the original Duklja-based genealogy was written in a Slavic language, and dated it back to the broad period between 1040 and 1150. While discussing *Regnum Sclavorum* as such, he claimed that in this case we are dealing with one author who would correct and modify the content of the piece over the years. The first part was seemingly written in Split between 1295 and 1298, the second part in the period between 1299 and 1301 in the city of Bar.[78] The timeframes proposed by Živković, as we shall soon see, fitted his multithreaded hypothesis on the identification of the author of *The Chronicle* himself.

4 The Problem of the Authorship of *Regnum Sclavorum*

Even in the nineteenth century, a popular conviction was that the fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum* were copies from unknown or lost sources. Konstantin Nikolajević, a Serbian politician and historian, and a son-in-law of King Alexander Karađorđević, was among the proponents of this opinion. He believed that the work could have had many authors and could be a compilation of several unrelated texts. The key questions posed by Nikolajević were: "Who wrote these older chronicles? Where did he write them? What was written in them? What sources were used? What are the relationships between the parts of the work? How credible is their content?".[79]

At the start of the last century, the complex structure of the work was also noted by Jovanović. In his concept, the structure of *Regnum Sclavorum* was dual: one of the parts he distinguished was the so-called *Croatian Chronicle*, while the second was the co-called *Chronicle of Zeta*. The latter, as mentioned

76 Ljubomir Jovanović, "O letopisu popa Dukljanina," *Godišnjak – Srpska kraljevska akademija* 15 (1901), pp. 224–225.

77 In several older publications he generally agreed with Šišić's views on the time of the creation of the work, but later he changed his opinion; see: Tibor Živković, "O prvim poglavljama Letopisa Popa Dukljanina," *Istorijski časopis* 44 (1997), pp. 7–18.

78 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 373–378.

79 Konstantin Nikolajević, "*Kritička pokušenja u periodu od prvih pet* (*sedam*) *vekova srpske istorije*," *Letopis Matice srpske* 110 (1865), p. 5; T. Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 26.

above and according to Jovanović, was written at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the former perhaps not earlier than the fifteenth century.[80] Milorad Medini remained with the concept of the heterogeneous structure of the work. He undertook a philological analysis of the text, and its results prompted him to recognize that *Regnum Sclavorum* is basically the work of many authors, one of whom may indeed be called "the Priest of Duklja". The conclusions presented by Medini can be summarized as follows: in about 1180, an unknown priest from Bar added stories from the Duklja region to a chronicle written around 1120, called by him "the chronicle of Travunja", which contained the genealogy of the princes of the local dynasty. The work we know today is a result of supplementing the text of this chronicle with the history of the establishment of Ragusa and elements of local legends about Pavlimir Bello; the supplementation took place in the fourteenth century in Dubrovnik. As a further piece of the jigsaw, Medini also added the hypothetical hagiography *Life of St. Vladimir*, separating the "Travunja" and "Zeta" ("Duklja") parts. Thus, only the latter would be the proper work of the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Medini formulated a hypothesis according to which the genealogy of the rulers of Travunja could originally be written in the Slavic language and only later translated by the Priest of Duklja.[81]

Medini developed some of his theses in the article *Kako je postao Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* [How "The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja" was created]. He claimed that *The Chronicle of Travunja* was written by an anonymous Benedictine monk in the time of Emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos, and pointed out that in the entire text of *Regnum Sclavorum* only two emperors are mentioned. The name of the first, Basil, was allegedly included in the text by the author of the "Travunja" part of the work, while the other, Manuel, presumably referred to Manuel I Komnenos and was added by the proper Priest of Duklja.[82]

Medini tried to justify his ideas using the results of a linguistic analysis of the separate parts: "in the first ['Travunja'] part there are 375 words that do not appear in either the second ['Life of St. Vladimir'] or third ['Zeta'] parts; in the second and very short part, there are 194 words that do not appear in either the first or third parts; in the third part there are 230 words that do not appear in

80 Jovanović, "O letopisu popa Dukljanina,"; Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 27.

81 Milorad Medini, *Starine Dubrovačke* (Dubrovnik, 1935), pp. 28–64.

82 Milorad Medini, "Kako je postao Ljetopis popa Dukljanina," *Rad JAZU*, 273 (1942), pp. 155–156.

either the first or the second parts. Only 359 words appear in all three parts of the work".[83]

Medini's ideas were repudiated by Stanojević, who accused him of "hypercriticism at times", and "putting forward too bold a thesis".[84] Also, Radojčić decided that Šišić, who considered *The Chronicle* one entity, was closer to the truth than Medini. However, Radojčić claimed that Šišić had not managed to prove that the beginning and ending of the work were written by one author, and thus suggested a different division of the work than that of Medini. Radojčić believed that "someone else" could have written the opening part of the work, *Libellus Gothorum*, mentioned in the Priest of Duklja's text.[85] On the other hand, Medini's concepts were positively evaluated by Mošin and Muhamad Hadžijahić. The former accepted them with some caution,[86] while the latter shared them without reservation, and even suggested, on the basis of them, his own hypothesis concerning the stages of the formation of the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*.[87]

Leśny noted errors in Medini's arguments,[88] referring to the study by Ksenia Hvostova, who analysed the legal and political terminology in the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*. According to Hvostova, it was so homogeneous that the issue of several authors of the work was out of the question.[89]

The peculiar concept of a division in *Regnum Sclavorum* was presented in 1940 by Borislav Radojković, who distinguished four parts in the work: 1) the first three chapters on the Goths; 2) the Zachlumia-related part – including a description of Constantine's activity and information about the synod summoned by Svetopelek (Radojković identified him as Michael Višević, the ruler of Zachlumia)[90] 3) the Travunja-related chapters focused of the hypothetical Beljić dynasty; 4) the final chapters on Duklja. Radojković also claimed that the text of the chronicle as a whole was reworked several times, hence the confusion for contemporary researchers attempting to identify historical

83 Medini, "Kako je postao Ljetopis popa Dukljanina," pp. 115–116.

84 Stanoje Stanojević, "Milorad Medini: 'Starine Dubrovačke'," *Jugoslovenski Istorijski Časopis* 314 (1935), pp. 618–619.

85 Radojčić, *O najtamnijem odeljku Barskog rodoslova*, pp. 13–14.

86 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, p. 21.

87 Muhamed Hadžijahić, "Das Regnum Sclavorum als historische Quelle und als territoriales Substrat," *Südost Forschungen* 42 (1983), pp. 11–60.

88 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, pp. 24–25.

89 Ksenija V. Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," [К. В. Хвостова, "К вопросу терминологии Летописи Попа Дуклянина"] *Slavjanskij archiv* 2 (1959), pp. 40–45.

90 For comparison, Medini believed that "the king Predimir" mentioned in the work was the historical Michael Višević: Medini, *Starine Dubrovačke*, pp. 56–57.

dynasties and territories, which in the *Regnum Sclavorum* bear invented and false names.[91]

Scholars who assumed that the work had one author disputed his ethnicity. Šišić, Radojčić and Mijušković believed that he was a Slav from the Bar area. To make this probable, Šišić was inclined to consider that the phrase "quem lingua sua *cagan* apellabant, quod in lingua nostra resonat *imperator*" (whom in their language they call *khagan*, which in our language means: *emperor*)[92] was a later insertion.[93] However, on the basis of the same expression, other scholars were inclined to identify him as a Dalmatian of Latin ethnicity.[94]

We can assume with great certainty that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* was a clergyman. A popular historiographic myth even claimed that he was the Bishop (or Archbishop) of Bar. Radojković identified him as the Bishop of Ulcinj, a representative of the Slavic church hierarchy,[95] though this conviction did not meet with much support. The opening of *Regnum Sclavorum* may indicate that the anonymous author held the rank of archbishop, who addresses "in Christo fratribus ac venerabilibus sacerdotibus sanctae sedis archiepiscopatus Dioclitanae ecclesiae".[96] Why did he omit the archbishop in the invocation? "Because the author and the archbishop are the same person" replied Živković, giving examples of documents in which archbishops repeat the phrase "in Christo fratribus" while addressing their suffragans.[97] Eduard Peričić, who used similar comparative material, was also convinced that the Priest of Duklja was a bishop.[98] However, in the entire *Regnum Sclavorum* there is no indication that its author really knew a lot about the Archbishopric of Bar. Although it appeared several times on the pages of the work, it never obscured the main purpose of the narrative, which was to show the fate of the dynasty of Slavic kings.

Peričić and Živković in their studies made efforts to describe "the Presbyter from Diocletia" a bit more precisely. Peričić reproached previous scholars studying *Regnum Sclavorum* for being too cautious and avoiding the problem of the authorship of the work. He claimed that the author had certainly been

91 See: Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, pp. 21–22.

92 *Ljetopis*, p. 45.

93 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 425–426.

94 Mandić, "Kraljestvo Hrvata i Ljetopis popa Dukljanina," pp. 451–455; N. Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 34; Jovan Kovačević, *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 1 (Titograd [Podgorica], 1967), p. 242.

95 Boris Radojković, *Knjižica o Gotima* (Belgrade, 1974), pp. 21–23.

96 *Ljetopis*, p. 39.

97 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 61, footnote 147.

98 Peričić, *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog*, pp. 200–208.

someone familiar with the political realities of particular medieval Adriatic lands – not only of the Bar area, but also of Ragusa, Salona and Croatia proper. As the most probable author, Peričić suggested Gregory (Grgur), an archbishop of Bar whose family was based in Zadar. According to Emilij Laszowski a similar hypothesis had been proposed even earlier by Vjekoslav Klaić. The entry on Grgur in Laszowski's dictionary says that Klaić did not exclude that the author of the work "known as *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* is either Gregory or his protégé Maraldo" and that the work was written around 1195 in Zadar.[99] However, as it was observed by Leśny and then by Peričić there are no such claims in the works of Klaić.[100] Another author who proposed – to a limited extent – a similar hypothesis about the authorship of *Regnum Sclavorum* was Štedimlija.[101]

Peričić pointed to a certain document from Ragusa, dated 1196, in which Gregory is mentioned as a witness: *dei gratia Antibarensis archiepiscopus*.[102] He combined this figure with the aspirations of the Serbian ruler Vukan to renew the archbishopric in Bar. According to Peričić, the archbishop was forced to cede his position to Johannes, his successor, then went to Dubrovnik and finally to his native Zadar, where he died circa 1198. Elements of traditions from various areas of Dalmatia that appear in the text could have originated from this journey. Peričić interpreted *Regnum Sclavorum* as, in the first place, the voice of Gregory in the dispute between Bar and Split helping to legitimize the rights of the former to be archbishopric; these efforts proved to be successful at the end of the twelfth century.

Živković, however, suggested another person as the presumed author of the chronicle. He sought someone acquainted with the situation of both northern and southern Dalmatia. Besides, he noticed the convergence of some motifs included in *Regnum Sclavorum* with the narratives of "northern Slavonic lands", especially the similarity to *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague.[103]

---

99 Emilij Laszowski, *Znameniti i zaslužni Hrvati 925–1925* (Zagreb, 1925), p. 95.

100 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 29; Peričić, *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog*, pp. 130–132.

101 Štedimlija, "Zagonetka popa Dukljanina," pp. 67–68.

102 Peričić, *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog*, p. 232.

103 The similarity between some fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas of Prague was noted by Banašević, who however confined himself to juxtaposing examples of similar use of Old Testament motifs in both works. He pointed out, for example, the use of similar war fortunes or the names of musical instruments in both narratives. He compared King Dobroslav's plan (who, according to *Regnum Sclavorum*, sent one of his knights to the Greeks' camp with a false warning of the approaching army, so that later the enemy, overestimating the attackers' strength, could be frightened simply

Živković also tried to prove that *Regnum Sclavorum* bears features indicating its author's residence in Hungary; one of them might be the usage of the name "White Croatia" corresponding to information about the Croats in the bishopric of Prague. According to Živković, "white" means simply "northern". He suggested that the author *Regnum Sclavorum* had learnt about the Croats' migration through tales popular in Bohemia and Poland.[104]

The use of the term *Alamani* in reference to Germans indicated, according to Živković, that the chronicler belonged neither to the Italic nor the Byzantine literary circles.[105] Živković pointed to the use of this name in Poland by Gallus Anonymus, called by him "Martin Gallus", in accordance with the older tradition. Živković found no contradictions in his argument, although the identity of "Gallus" is also a subject of dispute, and an Italian origin cannot be ruled out.[106] Also, some geographical references in the part of *Regnum Sclavorum* focusing on the Goths may indicate, according to Živković, that its author

by shouts and noises made by the king's sparse troops) with the action of Oldřich, Duke of Bohemia (who also ordered his people to use shouts and noises to cause panic among the Poles who occupied Prague). Banašević believed that "horns" used by partisans of Dobroslav and Oldřich, as well as the narrative scheme of both stories, were taken from the Latin translation of the biblical Book of Judges, including the story of Gideon, who managed to defeat the Midianites with only three hundred companions, introducing panic among the enemies by means of trumpets and noise: Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 239–241; *Ljetopis*, pp. 89–90; *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum cum Continuatoribus*, chapter 36, ed. Josef Emler, Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 2 (Prague, 1874), pp. 52–53; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, trans. and ed. Maria Wojciechowska (Warsaw, 1968), p. 37.

104 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 151.

105 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 187.

106 Paradoxically, according to the concept of Tomasz Jasiński, Gallus Anonymus – identified by Jasiński as a historian known as Monachus Littorensis (a monk of Lido) – not only knew Venice, but perhaps was also well-oriented in Dalmatian issues. Jasiński claimed that the chronicler could have known Old Croatian, and that certain rhetorical phrases or toponyms used in his work indicate that he belonged to the Adriatic writing milieu. For example, he used the term "ad urbem regiam et egregiam, Albam nomine" (*Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta ducum sive pricipum Polonorum*, ed. Karol Maleczyński, MPH nova series vol. 4 (Krakow, 1952), p. 89) while referring to Bialogard, and that may prove his associations with Biograd na Moru – the city where Croatian rulers were enthroned, see: Tomasz Jasiński, *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima* (Krakow, 2008), pp. 83–106. This thesis, however, was refuted by Banaszkiewicz in his article on the popularity of similar toponyms referring to symbolic capitals of various Slavic ethnic groups: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i tradycji początków ludu (uwagi o urządzeniu wspólnoty plemienno-państwowej u Słowian)," Przegląd Historyczny, 77 (1986), no. 3, pp. 463–464.

either knew the territorial framework of Sclavonia given by Gallus,[107] or relied on Thomas the Archdeacon of Split.[108]

As mentioned earlier, Mijušković claimed that *Regnum Sclavorum* was written during the reign of the Balšić family. Živković rejected this idea[109] and suggested another patron of the work: Paul (Pavao) I Šubić of Bribir, who had been a ban of Croatia since 1274 (and the "Lord of all of Bosnia" since the start of the fourteenth century) until his death in 1312.[110] During the competition between the Árpáds and the Angevins for the Crown of Saint Stephen, Šubić extended his power to almost the whole of Croatia, but Hungarian influence was still strong enough to effectively prevent him from becoming Croatian king. In the context of the borders of the Kingdom of the Slavs known to *The Chronicle*, Živković recalled the address by Šubić to the inhabitants of Ragusa during preparations for the attack on Kotor: he was to say that his goal was to conquer Duklja (Zeta) first and then all of Raška.[111]

Although Živković called his method "indirect argumentation", he was convinced that Šubić and Charles Robert – future king of Hungary, the first of the Angevins on this throne – made promises of mutual support in their secretly exchanged letters: for Šubić abandoning the Árpáds' case, Charles Robert pledged himself to back his plans of seizing the throne of the Nemanjić dynasty. Claims of this type were not without foundation, because Šubić was the son-in-law of Serbian King Dragutin, having married his daughter, traditionally called Ursa, or Ursula.[112] Taking control over Bosnia and Zachlumia, as well as the plans for the conquest of Duklja and Raška, would require ideological support provided by the narrative about the history of the vast Kingdom of the Slavs.

Živković took a different approach and suggested that the person asked to write the chronicle was a foreigner, a Cistercian, and a Slav by origin. Although works of this kind were usually carried out by Benedictine monks, Živković ruled out this option, for according to him, the chronicler did not use classical

---

107 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 101.

108 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 109.

109 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 30.

110 The issue of the circumstances of making *The Chronicle* was settled in a different way by Aleksandar Radoman, who recently proposed considering Radoslav of Duklja, mid-twelfth-century prince, as a source of inspiration for writing the text. The problem with this hypothesis is that for the life and activities of this ruler, *The Chronicle* remains the basic source. See: Aleksandar Radoman, "Ko je naručilac Dukljaninova Kraljestva Slovena?," *Matica: Časopis za društvena pitanja, science and culture* 65 (2016), pp. 163–178.

111 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 395; Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 341.

112 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 342–350.

works that "to which the Benedictines referred".[113] Such argumentation would require supplementation, especially in the context of a very long list of titles, knowledge of which was, according to Živković, evident in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Živković divided the hypothetical sources into three parts: (1) texts quoted by the author from memory, (2) works he had at his disposal, and finally (3) oral transmission messages woven by him into the narrative. The list of titles is diverse and often surprising. For example: even if Živković managed to show some narrative similarities between *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Gesta regum Anglorum*, he did it by means of a juxtaposition of motifs and structure typical to literary studies, rather than by means of actual filial relationships.[114]

Among the sources available to the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*, Živković lists a range of texts: records of Hungarian kings issued between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, charters of Byzantine emperors to the city of Split from this period, contracts between Split and Serbian rulers, and the life of St. Benedict. In our opinion, however, there is no textual evidence that any of the mentioned sources were directly used in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

Živković identified the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* very precisely. In his opinion it was Rudger, Archbishop of Bar between 1298 and 1301, a Cistercian monk, probably of Czech origin. Živković traced his journey from Osek, Žďár and Sedlec, through northern Italy, where he allegedly stayed in the 1260s and 1270s, and finally the chapter of the diocese of Split, where a man named Rudger was mentioned as *procuratoribus capituli* in a document from May 24, 1294. Živković even believed that the first letter in the prologue of *Regnum Sclavorum* – "R", at the beginning of the word *rogatus* – hid the author's initial. Živković's conclusions seem to go too far,[115] and he was probably aware of this when he summarized his hypothesis (and indirectly the state of our knowledge about the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*) as follows: "in any case, Rudger would fit much more [to the profile of the chronicler] than Gregory the Bishop of Bar, indicated so far by the historians".[116]

113 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 353–354.

114 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 321–322.

115 One of the reviews in its title uses even the phrase "historical hoax": Aleksandar Radoman, "'Gesta regum Sclavorum'. Nova istorijska mistifikacija," *Matica crnogorska* Proleće [Spring] 2013, pp. 103–124.

116 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 365; Radoman, "'Gesta regum Sclavorum'. Nova istorijska mistifikacija," p. 365. See also: Angeliki Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias. Eisagogí, Metáfrasi, Istorikós Scholiasmós, Prósopa, Chóros* [*Το Χρονικό του Ιερέα της Διόκλειας, Εισαγωγή, Μετάφραση, Ιστορικός Σχολιασμός, Πρόσωπα, Χώρος*] (Athens, 2012), pp. 12–23.

5 *Regnum Sclavorum* as a Forgery Made by Orbini

Disputes over the origins of the chronicle inspired Solange Bujan to present a thesis that *Regnum Sclavorum* is a forgery created by Orbini.[117] She claimed that it was based on original Latin texts, such as the anonymous *Annales Ragusini*, dated by her (after Vinko Foretić) back to the fourteenth century,[118] and a genealogy of Croatian and Dalmatian kings, called – erroneously, in her opinion – the Croatian text of *The Chronicle*. Orbini, and earlier also Tuberon, probably knew the Croatian version in the Latin translation by Marulić,[119] which, as Bujan argued, had quickly gained popularity, fitting perfectly into the assumptions of the early Illyrian revival in Dalmatia.[120] Information taken from *Annales Ragusini* and Marulić's translation were, according to her, the foundation of the first part of the forgery.

According to Bujan, the second part of the narrative (following the death of Pavlimir Bello) and some changes in the first part were the original work of Orbini, who – using Benedictine literature related to the monastery in Monte Cassino (Paul the Deacon, Gregory the Great), Byzantine chronicles (including Nicephorus Gregoras, Niketas Choniates, Ioannes Skylitzes, Georgios Kedrenos) and the tradition existing in southern Dalmatia (on the subject of St. Vladimir) – wrote a work describing the persistence of the idea of a common Slavonic identity under the authority of Byzantium. As far as the attitude is concerned, the piece was related to the emerging movement of the Illyrian revival, and was aimed against the threat presented by Ottoman Turkey.

The concepts presented by Bujan are interesting, yet also radical. Although her idea is generally consistent with the thesis that *The Chronicle* was supplemented with insertions in Ragusa, Bujan omitted some important issues: she ignored the origin of the Slavonic genealogy translated by Marulić; she did not

117 Solange Bujan, "La 'Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée'. Un faux document historique," *Reveue des études Byzantines* vol. 66 (2008), no. 1, pp. 5–38; eadem, "Orbinijevo izdanje 'Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina': povijesni falsifikat," *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 43 (2011), pp. 65–80. For the critical review of the hypothesis: Angeliki Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 15–16.

118 Vinko Foretić, *Studije i rasprave o hrvatskoj povijesti* (Split, 2001), p. 172, quoted after: Bujan, "La 'Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée'," p. 13, footnote 16.

119 Similarity between the works of Marulić and Tuberon led Rattkay in the mid-seventeenth century mistakenly to attribute the authorship of Marulić's translation to Tuberon, quoted after: Bujan, "La 'Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée'," pp. 10–12.

120 For example, the translation of Marulić was copied by one of the "fathers" of Croatian national history, Dinko Zavorović from Šibenik, as early as in the second half of the sixteenth century. See: Iva Kurelac, "'Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae gesta' Marka Marulića u djelu 'De rebus Dalmaticis' Dinka Zavorovića," *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011), pp. 301–320.

explain the traces of translation in it; she did not mention the excerpts from the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo which would indicate familiarity with a text very similar to fragments of the Latin version of *The Chronicle*; and – last but not least – she did not respond to the findings of the philologists, who paid attention to the archaic features of the language of *Regnum Sclavorum*, especially the part dedicated to Vladimir.[121]

The last issue was recently discussed by Stefan Trajković-Filipović. After analysing the story of King Vladimir, he agreed with Bujan and stated that although the structure of the narrative bears the features of hagiography, it is nevertheless very closely related to the whole of *Regnum Sclavorum*. The linguistic layer and the use of characteristic motifs of the legends of the holy kings were attributed to the dexterity of Orbini. Trajković-Filipović shared Bujan's conviction that the real author of the text was Orbini.[122]

The "forgery" hypothesis requires further development. Bujan managed to show how weak the foundations of the historiographic convictions are concerning the oldest local narrative source. In this way she initiated a new discussion about the origin and the process of formation of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

6 Summary

Since the publication of the work by Šišić in 1928, many findings about the place, time of creation and the authorship of the Latin version of *The Chronicle* have been questioned; the controversies and ambiguities still prevail over what is certain in this regard. Šišić usually explained inaccuracies of the text in regard to the accepted thesis on the basis of numerous subsequent glosses and insertions. However, even Mošin, who usually agreed with Šišić, considered such explanations to be of little value.[123]

Regnum Sclavorum, in the available form, is on the one hand a well-thought-out piece, composed as a whole and bearing a specific ideological load. On the other hand, the extension of certain motifs and our knowledge of the traditions from which they originated often makes us incline to Medini's claim of a multi-layered construction, and we may actually encounter this both on the linguistic layer and through ambiguous references to characters and events

121 Bujan referred to later hagiographies of the saint, but as we will show in Chapter 6 of this work, they did not have much in common with the story included in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

122 Stefan Trajković-Filipović, "Inventing the Saint's Life: Chapter XXXVI of 'The Annals of The Priest of Dioclea'," *Reveue des études Byzantines* 73 (2013), pp. 259–276.

123 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, p. 34.

known from other sources. Alternatively we may even be persuaded by the concept of mystification, where the text is intentionally misleading readers of *The Chronicle*.

Lucius, the first publisher of *The Chronicle*, did not consider it a work of high historical value. Vatroslav Jagić also believed that *The Chronicle* holds "an important place in the history of our literature, especially in folk song-writing, yet as a literary monument rather than a historical source".[124] Mijušković treated *The Chronicle* as a work of fiction and noticed that even Šišić tended to write about the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* in this way.[125] Franjo Rački thought differently; he claimed that, at least in the latter parts, it was a good supplement to the scant Latin and Byzantine sources concerning the kingdom of Duklja.[126]

Whoever the Priest of Duklja was, his work does not show any ties to rich oral creativity, as was suggested by Radojčić. In the 1960s, Banašević proved that *Regnum Sclavorum* was not based on a cycle of epic songs.[127] However, the work participates in a number of traditions popular in various parts of Dalmatia, and a look at the fictional images of the origins of the state and the vision of continuity of power, allows us to explain what kind of traditions were there, and what elements were adopted by the Priest of Duklja to fulfil his own ideological message.

---

124 Vatroslav Jagić, *Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srpskoga, Knjiga prva: Staro doba* (Zagreb, 1867), p. 113.

125 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, p. 91.

126 Franjo Rački, "Ocjena starijih izvora za hrvatsku i srbsku poviest srednjeg vieka," *Književnik* 1 (1864), pp. 548–557.

127 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 10–12. Unlike Maja Kožić, who considered *The Chronicle* (in our opinion exaggeratedly) the source of knowledge on Croatian folk culture: Maja Kožić, "Ljetopis popa Dukljanina – jedno od temeljnih djela za izučavanje zametaka etnološkog zamišljanja u Hrvata," *Studia Ethnologica* 1 (1989), pp. 195–199.

CHAPTER 3

The Rulers of the Goths, and the Image of the Origins of the Kingdom of the Slavs

1 Introduction

The questions that will be posed in the first substantive chapter of this book are: who exactly were the Goth chieftains in *Regnum Sclavorum*, and why did the anonymous author of this work consider it important to start his narrative with them? The Goths appear in all surviving versions of *The Chronicle*. In each of them they were linked with the starting point of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The Gothic leaders also apparently became the first rulers of this kingdom and the founders of the dynasty, which later became a Slavonic dynasty. The author of *Regnum Sclavorum* – the Latin version of *The Chronicle* – at one point used the name "Slavs" when referring to the Goths – making the already vague interrelation even more confused.

We will look at the Gothic chieftains in the Latin version of *The Chronicle* to interpret the meaning of the text, which mentioned the leaders of the barbarians, the rulers of the earliest days of the Kingdom of the Slavs. We will also trace in the text the functions that were performed by the first rulers of the community described by the anonymous author, and discuss which model of exercising power would be most like their methods. We will strive to solve this problem in the following way: first, we will present an image of the Gothic kings and their characteristics in *Regnum Sclavorum*. Then we will refer to two additional sources from the High Middle Ages which mention the Goths and their rulers in Dalmatia and Croatia, namely:

– the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, known as *The Croatian Chronicle*;
– the work *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon.

On the basis of this comparison we will aim to capture the character of the power of the Gothic kings as reported in *Regnum Sclavorum*, and consider the nature of the state founded by them. This will be examined in the context of the narrative of the work, as well as within the tradition of the early days of a new way of organizing the community that might have existed near the Adriatic coast. The broader background will be provided by a legend of the origin of the Slavs, found in the *Regnum Sclavorum* but also shared with several other sources from the High and Late Middle Ages.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_004

2 The Kings of the Goths as Pagan Kings: the List of Gothic Rulers and Their Characteristics in the Narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*

The list of Gothic kings in *Regnum Sclavorum* starts with King Senulad [Svevlad] and his three sons: Brus, Totila and Ostroil.[1] The latter two will be particularly important to us: both of them, having left power over their native territories to Brus, the eldest brother, set off with their people to the south to begin a series of events that would lead to the formation of the Kingdom of the Slavs.

Who is the last on the list of the Gothic kings? This question can be answered in three ways. (1) In one interpretation, four anonymous rulers finish the list. As the author of *The Chronicle* explained, they were evil kings who persecuted the Christians. (2) Some consider Svetomir, who finally ended the persecution of the Christians in the area subordinated to him, to be the last ruler of the Goths. (3) According to other scholars, the list is seen to be closed by Svetopelek, who founded the Christian Kingdom of the Slavs and thus, by the act of a second foundation, finished the Gothic period of its history.[2]

This second option seems the most accurate. The reign of four anonymous rulers did not mean that there would have been any change in the way power was exercised, whereas Svetopelek was too important a ruler, and his achievements already belonged to a quite different order within the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*.[3] Svetomir, Svetopelek's father, the leader said to have established religious peace – permanently, not just temporarily as did some of his Gothic predecessors – despite being a pagan himself, was, in our opinion, the last ruler bearing "Gothic" features, at least, as we shall see below, in the Latin text of *The Chronicle*.

A complete list of Gothic kings in *Regnum Sclavorum* would thus be presented as follows. Senulad, the progenitor, and his first-born Brus, both situated beyond the framework of the history of the kingdom; then, Senulad's other two sons, Totila and Ostroil; after them, Ostroil's son, Senulad [II], followed by the subsequent rulers Selimir, Bladin, Ratomir, and four nameless "evil kings" of unclear filiation in direct lineage; and the last, already mentioned, Svetomir.

---

1 The reconstructed form "Svevlad" is most often used, though it differs from the one appearing in the Vatican manuscript: Senulad. The name of the king's son in the Vatican manuscript is written as "Ostroyllus", but we decided to omit the Latin suffix.

2 Martin Homza drew attention to the characteristic anthroponyms of Svetopelek, his father Svetomir and his son, Svetolik, forming a triad connected by the core "*svęt*" (holy), distinguishing their names from the names of earlier, typically "Gothic", rulers: Martin Homza, "Sémantická potencia osobného vlastného (rodného) mena Svätopluk, ako východisko svätoplukovskej legendy," in idem et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve. Štúdie z dejín svätoplukovskej legendy* (Bratislava, 2013), pp. 42–46.

3 The model of ruler-founder of the kingdom connected with this figure will be discussed in the next chapter of the present work. The biographies of all personae described in *The Chronicle*: Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 169–242.

Within this group there is also the possibility of further classification of the Gothic rulers in accordance with their function in the narrative. Senulad and Brus are clearly distinguished as being connected solely with the Urheimat of the Goths. The second group would include Totila and Ostroil, the chieftains and conquerors leading the people to the new lands. The remaining Gothic rulers belonged to the regular list of monarchs of the Kingdom of the Slavs in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, but they were pagans and this fact influenced the description of their rule.

Information given by the author of *The Chronicle* is by no means exhaustive. The narrative is mostly limited to two chieftains – Totila and Ostroil – and their conquests. Much less can be learnt about the other rulers. It would seem that this scantiness hides a certain mechanism of description which is worth discussing. Each of the pagan kings ruling after the invasion period had a special feature, closely related to the relationship between the ruler and the Christians living in his lands. There is a clear division into two groups of rulers: the good ones – their rule was a period of peace – and the evil ones, who forced the Christians to seek shelter either in coastal cities or in the mountains or other guarded places. The author of *The Chronicle* was well-disposed toward the pagan rulers he described, provided they were able to ensure a peaceful existence for the Christians in their country.

A similar two-fold division of Gothic rulers present in *Regnum Sclavorum*, however, did not include either Senulad or any of his sons. Totila and Ostroil, the first chieftains of the Goths who encountered the Christians, treated them quite violently, but this did not become a determinant of their evaluation. Noting that the scheme does not include Senulad and his offspring, we can, following the anonymous author of *The Chronicle*, divide the pagan kings into two groups:

TABLE 1 Rulers and their attitudes to Christians

The rulers hostile to Christians	**The rulers tolerating Christians**
Senulad [II]: Multasque iniquitates et persecutiones facjendo christianis, qui In civitatibus maritimis habitant […][a] (Having committed many harms and evils to the Christians living in the coastal cities, he died in the twelfth year of his reign)	

a *Ljetopis*, p. 44.

TABLE 1 Rulers and their attitudes to Christians (*cont.*)

The rulers hostile to Christians	**The rulers tolerating Christians**
	Selimir: qui quamvis paganus et gentili, tamen cum omnibus pacificus fuit et dilexit omnes christianos et minime persecutus est eos.[b] (who, despite being a pagan and barbarian, kept peace with everyone and loved all Christians, without persecuting them)
	Bladin: in via patris ambulavit et possedit regnum patrum quorum cum pace.[c] (followed in the footsteps of his father and kept the kingdom of his ancestors in peace)
Ratomir: qui inimicus nominis Christiani extit a pueritia, caepitque ultra modum persequi Christianom voluitque celere de terra et de regno nomen forum, multas quoque civitates eorum et loca destruxit et alias In servitutem redigens reseravit[d] (who was the enemy of the Christian name. He began a fervent persecution of the Christians, wishing to eradicate their name from the face of the earth and from his kingdom. He destroyed lots of their cities and settlements, and took the opportunity to enslave them)	
Four evil kings: quorum temporibus semper In persecution fuerunt christiani. Et quia inimici et persecutores christianorum [erant][e] (during their time the Christians were still oppressed. And they [were] the oppressors and persecutors of the Christians)	
	Svetomir: qui accepto regno destitit christianos persequi[f] (who, after taking over the kingdom, stopped persecuting the Christians)

b *Ljetopis*, p. 44.
c *Ljetopis*, p. 44.
d *Ljetopis*, p. 46.
e *Ljetopis*, p. 47.
f *Ljetopis*, p. 47.

Such laconic references were usually the only information about the pagan kings. The Priest of Duklja wove two events important for the further history of the Kingdom of the Slavs into the description of their reigns:

– The story of Bladin's reign was supplemented with a digression about the arrival of the Bulgarians. Making peace with the Bulgarians was, in fact, the most important decision by Bladin.
– The story of Svetomir was supplemented with information about the apostolic activity of Constantine (St. Cyril) which is bound with the story of the baptism and introduction of legal order of the kingdom by Svetopelek.

Both of these threads were digressive and they do not enrich our knowledge of the pagan rulers themselves. The author of *Regnum Sclavorum* tried to be as concise as possible in his description of them. He justified his intentions, when writing about the four evil kings, and summarized their rule with an explanation: "Et quia inimici et persecutores christianorum [erant], longum duximus narrare forum iniquos actus et vitam, quoniam ad meliora et delectabilora tendere festinamus".[4] (These rulers were the oppressors and persecutors of the Christians, and we think that telling stories of their evil deeds and life would be tiring, especially because we want to move quickly to much more pleasant events).

Rhetorical formulations of this kind were an inseparable element of medieval writing. We can quote the recapitulation of the history of pagan Poland in *Gesta principum Polonorum* (*The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*), the work of the so-called Gallus Anonymus: "But let us pass over the story of the deeds of men stained by error and idolatry, lost to memory in the oblivion of ages, and turn to recount those whose memory has been preserved by faithful memory".[5] The same formula allowed the Priest of Duklja to mention the twilight of the Gothic rule, and by introducing the figure of Svetomir and – linked with him – the digressive description of the activity of Constantine (St. Cyril), to prepare the ground for events associated with Svetopelek.

The fact that an anonymous author of *The Chronicle* could include the characterization of the Gothic rulers as another distinctive element can be deduced from some further information he left about them. Descriptions of two of the three cases of positively-evaluated pagan rulers also include references to the Slavs. References to the Slavs are not confined to Svetomir, although this ruler, as the father of Svetopelek, represents a different model of an (almost)

4 *Ljetopis*, p. 47.

5 *Gesta Prinicipum Polonorum. The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, translated. and ed. Paul W. Knoll, Frank Schaer (Budapest/New York, 2003), p. 25; Latin: "Sed istorum gesta, quorum memoriam oblivio vetustatis abolevit et quos error et ydolatria defedavit, memorare negligamus et ad ea recitanda, que fidelis recordatio meminit, istos succincte nominando transeamus", ibidem, p. 24.

Christian king. It was probably not a coincidence. The two positively-evaluated non-Christian kings were in one way or another associated with the Slavs, and thus they had stronger and more direct bonds with the continuing history of the kingdom than did the other pagan rulers.

The Slavs appeared in the Latin version of *The Chronicle* for the first time in a passage devoted to Selimir. The king, although a barbarian and a pagan, did not enter into conflict with the Christians. This description is accompanied by information that "replevit [terram] multitudine Sclavorum" (he settled [the land] with a multitude of Slavs). The mention of the Slavs was therefore somewhat episodic. We do not know whether the anonymous author regarded these Slavs as Christians or pagans, or what their attitude towards the Goths was. It is possible, however, that this seemingly passing remark was very important to complete the image of the king's reign. The positive assessment of Selimir's reign can be attributed to the fact that he settled the Slavs in his realm and his gentle approach to the Christian inhabitants of the country.

The same applies to his successor, Bladin, another pagan ruler who was friendly to the Christians. His greatest achievement was to maintain the peace that his father brought to the kingdom. We also learn that he made a pact with the Bulgarians, which was – according to the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum* – a consequence of some particular predispositions: "Caeperuntue se utrique populi valde inter se diligere, id est Gothi qui et Sclavi, et Vulgari, et maxime quod ambo populi gentiles essent et una lingua esset omnibus"[6] (Both nations – that is the Goths, who were the Slavs, and the Bulgarians – began to love each other because they were pagans and had a common language). The expression "Gothi qui et Sclavi" continues to cause many interpretative problems. In this passage the Slavs were called pagans. Their language was close to Bulgarian. Undoubtedly, the Priest of Duklja had quite detailed knowledge of the Bulgarians and their customs, but the picture of mutual love of pagans was an expression of a stereotypical conviction about the similarity of all barbarians outside Christendom.

3 Totila and Ostroil: Two Chieftains of the Goths, and the Vision of the Conquest of Dalmatia

The two sons of Senulad – Totila and Ostroil – remained outside the scheme of a pagan ruler. Although unambiguously hostile towards the Christians, they defied simple categorization. The anonymous author of *The Chronicle* did not

6 *Ljetopis*, p. 46.

call them kings. Once only he described them as *principes*, when he mentioned that they were sons of King Senulad (*filii regis Senuladi*). The Priest of Duklja saw the brothers as the chieftains of the Goths, and, in a sense, executors of the divine plan, which included the defeat of the Christians in Dalmatia. When Totila and Ostroil came to the lands given the enigmatic name "Templana" by the author of *The Chronicle*, the narrative pairs them with two local opponents, the kings of Istria and the Dalmatians. The Goths defeated them in bloody battle, and they later continued with their conquests. Totila left the lands that would later become part of the kingdom and led his people to Italy.[7] Ostroil then ravaged the cities of Dalmatia and did not stop the conquests until he was killed by the emperor's people. Even then, the author of *The Chronicle* was reluctant to use words associated with legitimate authority in references to Ostroil.

In the Priest of Duklja's narration, the role of the militant brothers was primarily to destroy the existing structure. This enabled change in the political geography of these lands, and in effect the foundation of the new kingdom. Totila and Ostroil were first and foremost a model of militant chieftains leading their people to new territories. The tale preserved in the work of the Priest of Duklja bears features of the legend of the start of the community. Moreover, the anonymous author depicted the creation of the kingdom as an element of historical necessity. We read in *The Chronicle*:

> Regnate in urbe Constantopolitana imperatore Anastasio, quie se et alios multos Eutychiana haeresi maculaverat, Romae vero praesiente Gelasio papa, eo tempore praeclaruerunt [multa sanctitate[8]] in Italia Germanus episcopus et Sabinus Canusinae sedis episcopus atque venerabilis vir Benedictus apud Cassinum montem, exit quoque gens septentrionali a plaga, quae Gothi nominabantur, gens ferox et indomita, cui errant tres fraters principes, filii regis Senuladi, quorum nomina sunt haec: primus Brus, secundus Totila, tertius vero Ostroyllus.[9]

7 It is not clear why the name of Totila – an important, yet not the most famous of historical chieftains of the Goths – entered the circle of Dalmatian tradition. His political activities, in the first place "opening" the Goth tribes to external communities, were probably insignificant. On the historical figure of Totila, see: Herwig Wolfram, *Historia Gotów* (Warsaw / Gdańsk, 2003), pp. 17, 344, 399–407; J. Strzelczyk, *Goci – rzeczywistość i legenda* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 148–153. See also: Thomas S. Burns, *A history of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington, 1984), pp. 210–217; Peter Heather, *The Goths* (Oxford, 1988), p. 268.

8 Additions in brackets are the reconstructions made by Šišić, and supported by the subsequent publishers of the text, in this case on the basis of Mauro Orbini's translation.

9 *Ljetopis*, p. 40.

> (When Emperor Anastasius, who stained himself and many others with Eutyches's heresies, reigned in Constantinople, and Gelasius was the Roman Pope, and at the same time Bishop Germanus, and Sabinus the Bishop of Canosa, and the venerable man Benedict of Monte Cassino, glorified [with great sanctity] in Italy, the nation known as the "Goths" appeared from the north, a savage and untamed people, whose princes were three brothers, the sons of a King Senulad and named as follows: first Brus, second Totila, third Ostroil.)

Attempts to outline the chronological framework of this narrative did not bring satisfactory results because of the very character of the story. The Priest of Duklja tried to hide its mythical nature by giving it a certain historical foundation, emphasizing the alleged credibility of the events described. Even a cursory attempt to confront the information given in the work with our knowledge of that period shows some inaccuracies. Anastasius ruled the Byzantine Empire between 491 and 518, and Gelasius was the pope in Rome between 492 and 496. The lives of the saints mentioned in the text do not fully correspond to this chronology: St. German became a bishop of Capua around 519, St. Sabin a bishop of Canosa in 514, and Benedict settled in Monte Cassino around 529.[10]

From the very beginning, the Priest of Duklja weaved a motif of heresy into the tale of the two brothers. In other parts of *The Chronicle*, heresy was used to provide reasons for the Gothic invasion. The Goths were a kind of "scourge of God" in his narrative, and the way he described them seems to confirm this image. We learn that they were "savage and untamed". Their chieftains – Totila and Ostroil – had only one passion: war, yet the Priest of Duklja did not consider them rulers in the strict sense of the word. According to the story, they set out for the south at the urging and will of their oldest brother, Brus, who took power in the northern country after Senulad's death. The author of *The Chronicle* mentioned one more motivation of the younger brothers: "sibi magnum nomen facerent"[11] ([they] wished to make their names famous). He probably referred to this wish in the passage about Ostroil's death, defining the Gothic chieftain as "vir forti animo"[12] (a man of strong spirit). Despite the rapacious forays by Totila and Ostroil and the harm they did to the Christians, the Priest of Duklja somehow justifies both of the invaders. In his eyes they were an embodiment of the laws of nature, and the military skill and strength they personified mitigated their evaluation. The subsequent rulers

10 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 421; Živković, *Gesta Regum*, p. 72.
11 *Ljetopis*, p. 41.
12 *Ljetopis*, p. 43.

descended from Ostoril were judged on the basis of their attitude towards Christians. The first two leaders elude this perception. As executors of God's plan, as well as great warriors, they were treated differently in the narrative.

The conflict between the pagans and the Christians – though reduced here to the fight between the Christian kings and the Gothic chieftains – was not presented as a clash of two unambiguously nominated elements:

> Tunc rex Dalmatinorum qui in civitate magna et admirabili Salona manebat, misit nuncios et litteras ad regem Istriae provinciae, ut congregaret exercitum, quatenus insimul exirent eis obviam et defenderent se. Igitur ambo congregantes exercitum gentis suae exierunt obviam Gothis, venientes itaque castrametati sunt iuxta eos; tunc per spatium octo dierum quia prope erant castra ad castra, hinc inde armati procedentes per partes graviter se vulnerabant, ac trucidabant. Octavo vero die omnes hinc inde hristiani, et gentiles, armati exierunt, et commissum est magnum proelium ab hora diei tertia, usque ad vesperam, et Dei iudicio, cui nemo audet dicere, cur ita faciat, quia forte aliquod magnum peccatum latebat in Christianis, victoriam Gothi crudeles habuerunt, ceciditque pars Christianorum et interfectus est rex Istriae, et multa milia hominum Christianorum in ore gladii mortua sunt et plurima captiva ducta sunt. Evasit autem rex. Dalmatinorum cum valde paucis militibus, et aufugit in civitatem suam Salonam.[13]
>
> (Then the king of the Dalmatians, who stayed in beautiful and admirable Salona, sent envoys with letters to the king of the province of Istria to gather the army and jointly oppose the invader. So both gathered their troops, and headed against the Goths. After their arrival at that place, they camped near to them. Then, within eight days, and because the camps were close to each other, the warriors, coming from everywhere, were hurting each other and killing each other. On the eighth day all the warriors of both sides, the Christians and the pagans, went forth and fought a great battle, which lasted from mid-morning to before sunset. And by God's will, which no one dares to ask why this is so, the cruel Goths won, perhaps because some great evil was hidden among the Christians. And the king of Istria was murdered, and many thousands of Christians were killed by the sword, and many were abducted as prisoners. The king of the Dalmatians, with a handful of warriors, fled to the city of Salona.)

13 *Ljetopis*, pp. 41–42.

The Priest of Duklja, describing the defeat of the Christians, seemed to justify the actions of the Goths. He even writes that "great sin was hidden among the Christians".[14] In this way he combined two motifs that were present in his narrative from the beginning: the Gothic conquests, and the thread of sin in the Christians which led to the fall of their kingdoms. Although the author does not specify it, we can guess that the "sin" mentioned by him is the heresy of Eutyches.

The Gothic chieftains did not exercise their power arbitrarily. The three brothers had consulted with each other earlier, just after their father's death, and decided on the expedition to the south. The same happened after the victory over the two Christian kings. The Priest of Duklja wrote about the council attended not only by the brothers, but also by the magnates offering their advice: "Post haec quia magnus erat exercitus Totillae et Ostroyili fratris eius, et populus ei[s] accreverat multus, consilio initio cum suis magnatibus diviserunt exercitum"[15] (After this, because the army of Totila and his brother Ostroil was sizeable and their nation multiplied, following the council with their magnates they split the army). As we can see, the next division among the brothers was preceded by an insightful council, in which others besides Totila and Ostroil were involved.

Totila's future and his conquests in Italy are a side thread, yet the Priest of Duklja finishes it with another reference to St. Benedict of Nursia, predicting the death of the barbarian chieftain. This device made his narrative more coherent.[16]

The process of establishment and integration of the kingdom began far beyond its borders. In the narrative of *The Chronicle*, Totila and Ostroil were more like chieftains and conquerors than rulers of subordinate territories. It was Senulad (Svevlad) [11] – Ostroil's son – who began proper rule over the lands conquered by the Goths. The Priest of Duklja noted that after the death of his father, Senulad [11], "cepit regnum et regnavit in loco patris" (took over the kingdom and reigned in place of the father). The chronicler for the first time also defined the boundaries of the land subordinated to the rulers of the country described: "Fuerunt autem regni eius fines de Valdevino usque ad

14 "magnum peccatum latebat in Christianis".

15 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

16 This prophecy of St. Benedict of Nursia was mentioned for the first time by Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, 2. 14–15, trans. Anna Świderkówna (Krakow, 2000), pp. 157–158. Wolfram speculated that this tradition could result from a real conversation between Benedict and the chieftain of the Goths, although he thought that Gregory's version had been so heavily modified that the real causes of the possible meeting were hard to determine, see: Herwig Wolfram, *Historia Gotów*, pp. 399–407.

Poloniam" (The borders of his kingdom stretched from Valdevino to Polonia), and these places are interpreted today as Vinodol and Apolonia, although the possibility is not excluded that they are a trace of some distorted older legend of another place, such as Templana, to which the Goths came before the invasion, and which was interpreted by Šišić as Teutonia.[17]

The name of Senulad [II] did not appear in this place by accident. Using it, the Priest of Duklja could emphasize the continuity of the dynastic traditions transferred to the south by the two brothers. Senulad [I] and Senulad [II] would therefore be proper kings, the former as the ruler of a certain country in the north, and the latter the monarch of the kingdom established as a result of the conquests of Totila and Ostroil. The two chieftains were supposed to command rather than to reign, and therefore the description of their actions went beyond the evaluation schemes applied to other pagan rulers in *Regnum Sclavorum* by the anonymous author.

4 An Image of the Origins of the Kingdom of the Slavs in the Context of *Origines Gentium* Legends

The problem of the source of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (and also of the anonymous Croatian version of the same work) is still unresolved. We can only speculate that an earlier tradition concerning the two most important chieftains of the Goths – Totila and Ostroil – could have existed in the Adriatic region before. Without sufficient information about the possible shape of this tradition and contexts in which it could be created, we have only the text of *Regnum Sclavorum* from which to extract as much information about the start of the Kingdom of the Slavs and its first leaders. It is useful here to go over the main points of this episode in the narrative.

The Gothic rulers were originators of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The Priest of Duklja could have omitted from his narrative the story of the pagan kings and chieftains, as well as that of the Goths in general – the "savage and untamed" people, as he claimed – yet he decided not to do so. Therefore, we cannot underestimate the meaning of this passage, which was the introduction to the further tale. The first part of the work plays a primary role not only because of the composition of the text and the entire literary intention of the author of *The Chronicle*, but also because of the shape of his vision of history. The

17 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 422–423. Among different historical interpretations were also: *terra templorum* – part of the diocese of Pécs, between Danube and Sava, or the area around city of Scodra, see: Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, p. 349.

vicissitudes of the Slavic kings were linked to the history of the conquest and persecution of the Christians, but at the same time the Priest of Duklja interpreted the new political situation as a punishment for sins. Thus we can conclude that the change was in accordance with God's plan.

Although we do not know when *Regnum Sclavorum* was actually written, there is no doubt that in the High Middle Ages the issue of the origins and sources of power played an important role in the narrative structures of other historical works in which the start of a given story influenced its further course. We can refer to Jacek Banaszkiewicz's findings, who devoted a lot of space to this problem in his deliberations.[18] He claimed that the genesis of peoples/nations, as well as the foundations of royal power, were determined by a complex and comprehensive process. In medieval historiography this process presented the image and characteristics of the ruler in such a manner that they would fit into the context of the purpose of the history of the state or community presented by the chronicler. Banaszkiewicz managed to capture these relationships most accurately when he analysed *gesta* of the rulers. Information about the behaviour of particular heroes was often dependent on the origin of these characters.

As Banaszkiewicz put it: "Even a cursory look at this concise model of the development of everything that is earthly and transient shows that the end heralds doom and decadence to the hero, no matter who he was, therefore it must be at his birth that he is provided with his characteristic features allowing him to exist for some (longer or shorter) time. In short, it was thought that our future would be determined by who we were – who we became at the beginning".[19] This sentence may shed light not only on the violent deaths of Totila and Ostroil, but also on the vicissitudes of all the kings of the Goths who, after the founding of the kingdom, remained pagans. The birth of the kingdom was an unfinished image, therefore the period of the pagan rulers ended with the baptism and coronation of Svetopelek, who completed the process of establishing a new state, by simultaneous absorption of the actualized foundations on which it had previously functioned.

The initial period of the kingdom was associated with the conquest by the barbarian chieftains, and it passed smoothly into the transitional phase of good and evil rulers. At that time the future fate of the realm was determined, for the

18 See: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi podaniami dynastycznymi* (Warsaw, 2010); idem, "Jedność porządku społecznego i początków tradycji ludu (Uwagi o urządzeniu wspólnoty plemienno-państwowej u Słowian)," *Przegląd Historyczny*, 4 (1986), no. 77, pp. 445–456.

19 Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "Podania o 'Początku'," in *Dynastie Europy*, ed. Antoni Mączak (Wrocław, 2003), p. 17.

kings of the Goths alternately managed to bring about inner order in the state or, to the contrary, they pushed it into a chaos of persecutions. The end of the discrimination connected with Svetomir and the appearance of Constantine (St. Cyril) determined the fate of the monarchy. The first stage of inception was completed, and the second one started when the kingdom joined Christendom and was recognized by the pope and the emperor.

The narrative about the Goths can be classified as one of numerous texts on the formation of a community. It contains the motif *origo gentis*, which is interesting to us because of the image of a ruler we find in it. The source of that image might be crucial. As Herwig Wolfram noted: "Until the sixth century, *origines gentium* were written exclusively from a 'civilized' position, referring to 'savages' and 'barbarians'",[20] and over time, "stories of brave people"[21] (as Wolfram calls them after Jordanes) would be more and more often composed for the needs of local identification. Their shape was the result of the Christian world view and an older narrative layer associated with ethnogenetic legend.

The Priest of Duklja claimed that he gained his knowledge from the mysterious work entitled *Libellus Gothorum*. If we really accepted that the passage of *Regnum Sclavorum* was a translation of this work *ex sclavonica littera*, we would have to look at the alleged translation of the Priest of Duklja as a fragment of an older narrative with a different ideological layer. The identification of the Goths and the Slavs could have a much more complex background.[22] The Priest of Duklja, writing about "'Libellus Gothorum' qui latine 'Sclavorum' dicitur 'regnum'",[23] for the first time proposed his own interpretation of both terms, which were actually synonyms. It is worth noting that such an identification appeared in the fragment concerning the Bulgarians. As was mentioned by Šišić, in old Serbian literature the term "Goth" referred to the Bulgarians,[24] but it is likely that the author of *The Chronicle* did not know this context, because he consistently distinguished the Bulgarians from the Slavs/Goths, although he also wrote about the similarities between the two groups.

---

20 Herwig Wolfram, "Razmatranja o 'origo gentis'," in *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, ed. Neven Budak (Zagreb, 1995), p. 40.

21 Wolfram, "Razmatranja," p. 41.

22 An interesting comment was offered in this context by Martin Homza, who drew attention to the way in which the Hungarians called the Slavs (including Croats, but later mainly Slovaks). The term *theut* / *teut*, and today's Tóth (Slovak), is associated with the ethnonym Teutoni (Teutones). According to Homza, the term was borrowed by Hungarians from the Slavs, and it may be interpreted as a trace of the stay of Goths and Gepids in Pannonia. Martin Homza, "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov (čierna a biela svätoplukovská legenda)," in idem et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve*, p. 83.

23 *Ljetopis*, p. 39.

24 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 114–116.

No "Book of the Goths" has been identified by the scholars. This has caused problems with the interpretation of the Priest of Duklja's statement, as well as numerous disputes over what exactly was his source and in which language and script it could have been written. The answer to this question is not without significance for our considerations. If the source were identified, it could reveal a great deal about the origin of the Gothic tradition in *The Chronicle* and about interpretations of this tradition.

Are we able to find traces that could possibly be fragments of *Libellus Gothorum* in the versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* we know today? The chapters that are directly related to the Gothic kings who ruled until the Synod in Dalma (often including the period of the synod) are usually considered to be remnants of the "Book of the Goths". Lubomír Havlík identified *Libellus Gothorum* as *Liber Sclavorum* and thought that the book was written not only in the Old Slavonic language but also in Glagolitic script. He regarded the Latin text as a translation of a hypothetical original Slavic version which did not survive. In addition, he tried to identify the alleged basis of the Latin translation with the books listed in the Croatian version in the passage about Svetopelek's synod as "knjige ke pri Hrvatih ostaše" (books kept by the Croats).[25] Another hypothesis was that *Libellus Gothorum* is nothing but a variant of the currently available Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, sometimes called – particularly to emphasize its distinctive character – *The Croatian Chronicle* (*Hrvatska kronika*).[26] Ivan Mužić insisted on the accuracy of this interpretation until recently.[27]

In the medieval Balkans, the narrative linking the Gothic *origo gentis* with the arrival of the Slavs had a richer tradition.[28] We can find an identical story in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, although a similar legend was also

25 Lubomir Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda* (Podgorica, 2008), p. 76 [Czech edition: *Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda* (Praha, 1976), p. 4].

26 Savić Marković Štedimlija claimed that the same opinion was shared by Jelić in his lost treatise titled *Hrvatska Kronika – Libellus Gothorum*, see: Štedimlija, *Zagonetka popa Dukljanina*, p. 77.

27 Ivan Mužić, "Nastajanje hrvatskog naroda na Balkanu," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3 (2008), no. 35, pp. 20–21.

28 Denis Alimov, discussing this phenomenon, referred to the concept of ethnopoiesis, introduced by Sigbjørn Sønnesyn. Alimov perceived "Adriatic Gothicism" as a form of creating a new image of ethnos and ideas about it, by adaptation of the existing motives and addition of the new ones, actualizing the place of community in political and cultural space. See: Denis E. Alimov, "Gotsko-Slavjanskoe korolestvo: reannesrednevekovyj Ilirik v diskursivnom prostranstve etnopoezisa," [Д. Е. Алимов "Готско-славянское королевство: раннесредневековый Иллирик в дискурсивном пространстве этнопоэзиса"] *Vestnik Udmurtskovo Universiteta* 4 (2017), no. 27, pp. 516–525.

known to Thomas the Archdeacon. Depending on the assumed date of composing *The Chronicle*, either Thomas knew it directly, or – as Slavko Mijušković speculated – the Priest of Duklja read Thomas' report.[29] There is also a third view, which we have found the most convincing, that there was no direct contact between the two narrations.

Seeing the Slavs as descendants of the Goths was named "Gothomania" by some historians, and dissemination of this phenomenon may suggest that such a presentation of the first rulers of the kingdom hides some mystery, and that the "Gothomania" of the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* was not his fantasy, but rather is linked with a certain context which we cannot identify.[30] This fragment of the narrative in *Regnum Sclavorum* played a fairly ambiguous function. Suggesting that the Slavs had originated from the courageous and valiant Goths, the people known from antiquity, enriched the genealogy of Slavic kings and raised their prestige by referring to an ancient heritage. However, the Priest of Duklja's narrative reveals his ecclesial education: he used the formulaic image of barbarians in his description of the Goths and often saw the pagan kings in a negative light.

5 Rules of the Goths and Ethnogenetic Legends of the Slavs

Statements by medieval authors deriving the Slavs from the Gothic tribe can be read in several different ways. There are various interpretations of a fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum*, devoted to the Goths and their rulers, which depend on the method adopted. One of the paradigms of this interpretation assumes that this story was primarily a modified and updated legend of the origin of *gens* which functioned among the Slavs even before their hypothetical journey, and that it survived until the High Middle Ages. In this way it would be a variant of not so much the narrative of *origo gentis* shaped in the High Middle Ages, but rather of a much older myth about the origins of the community – to some extent dating back to pre-Christian times.[31]

Such a proposal would assume an interpretation of the Priest of Duklja's story as being based on pre-existing narrative structures. His account of the

29 Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, p. 161, footnote 51.

30 See: Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 82–83, footnote 82.

31 Such proposals seemed to be suggested by Dušan Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.–10. století). Tři studie ke "Starým pověstem českým"* (Prague, 2003), pp. 91–92, who noticed similarities between the legends about Slavonic invasion of the Balkans in works of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Thomas the Archdeacon and in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. Třeštík also found synonymic motifs in plots of ethnogenetic legends of the West Slavs.

origins would be a literary implementation of some older indigenous legends about the arrival of the Slavs (or one of the tribes: Croats or Serbs). Under the terms of "literary implementation" we mean a certain change in traditional threads, so that they fit into the vision chosen by a historian. Czesław Deptuła called this phenomenon a "chronicle myth".[32] The Priest of Duklja's work was undoubtedly the product of Christian elitist culture, but it is possible that some of its fragments may also contain older narrative layers.

According to this concept, in the Priest of Duklja's narrative, Senulad and his three sons would take on the role of older cultural heroes, and the initial fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum* would contain remnants of earlier narratives about the legendary ancestors. Totila and Ostroil would belong to the older narrative scheme about the chieftains leading their people to new lands, in which they did not necessarily appear under such names. In fact, the Priest of Duklja referred to another legend related to the topos of wandering, in what seems to be a much more primal form, when he wrote about the arrival of the Bulgarians:

> Praeterea regnante Bladino exiit inumerabilis multitudo populorum a magno flumine Volga, a quo et nomen caeperunt; nam a Volga flumine Vulgari usque in presentem diem vocantur. Hi cum uxoribus et filiis et filiabus atque cum omni pecunia ac substantia magna nimis venerunt in Sylloduxiam provinciam. Praeerat eis quidam nomine Kris, quem lingua sua »cagan« appellabant, quod in lingua nostra resonat »imperator«, sub quo erant VIIII principes, qui regnabant et iustificabant populum, quoniam multus erat nimis.[33]
>
> (During the reign of Bladin, countless people came from behind the great river Volga, from which they also took their name, for – from the Volga River – they are still called Vulgars. With their wives, sons, daughters and all their possessions and a large property they came to the province of Sylloduxia. They were led by a certain Kris, whom they called "khagan" in their language, which stands for "emperor" in our language; nine princes[34] were subordinated to him. They ruled and exercised jurisdiction over the nation, because it was very numerous).

32 See: Deptuła, *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski*, pp. 12–17.

33 *Ljetopis*, pp. 44–45. The Priest of Duklja repeats the popular yet erroneous etymology of the endonym of Bulgars as originating from the Volga river, repeated also, among others, by the interpolator of *Chronica Poloniae maioris*.

34 In the variant present in the Belgrade manuscript: "uarii principes", or "various princes". See: Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 134, footnote 44. In the text printed by Lucius: "VIII principes", should be considered a mistake.

From a comparison of this narrative with the story of the Goths, we can conclude that the khagan Kris[35] and the nine princes accompanying him played a role similar to that of Senulad's two sons.

Such narrative threads in relation to the area south of the Danube can be found in older sources. In the mid-tenth century, Constantine Porphyrogennetos recorded a similar legend regarding the migration of the Croats. In the thirtieth chapter of *De administando imperio*, Porphyrogennetos (or one of the editors of his work) noted that the Croats had arrived from the north to Dalmatia, conquered by the Avars. They were led by five brothers: Kloukas, Lobelos, Kosentzis, Mouchlo and eponym Chrobatos, and two sisters Touga and Bouga.[36] This narrative has a lot of common points with the report by the Priest of Duklja on the Bulgarians, and with his narrative about the Goths. The motif of wandering is characteristic of *origo gentis* stories.[37] What is more, with regard to the peoples

35 In the Croatian version: "who is named *bare* in their language", translated by Marulić as "Barris". This is probably a reference to Boris I, the Bulgarian khan. See *Ljetopis*, p. 45, footnote. 29. However Papageorgiou identified him as Asparuh: *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 199–200.

36 *Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio*, ch. 30, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins (Washington, 1967), pp. 142–145. This chapter of the work of Constantine Porphyrogennetos is still a subject of controversy, for it includes information sometimes inconsistent with other fragments of the same work dedicated to the Slavs (chapters 29–36). Moreover, chapter 30 presents characteristics of a complete and distinct narrative. According to Živković, this part was written by the emperor himself, while other "Slavic" chapters were transcribed from another source which has not survived: Tibor Živković, *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum. A Lost Source* (Belgrade, 2012), pp. 30–42. Mladen Ančić, in contrast, described chapters 29–36 of *De administrando imperio* (according to modern editions of the work) as "a Dalmatian *dossier*". He considered chapters 31–36 to be complete, and the oldest part of the text, chapter 29, would be its "editorial" commentary, while chapter 30 represents (again) separate and the youngest fragment about Dalmatia: Mladen Ančić, "Zamišljanje tradicije: Vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela 'De administrando imperio'," *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010), pp. 133–151.

37 The topos of a cultural hero leading his people to new lands was described by Jacek Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka* (Wrocław, 2002), pp. 7–43. Banaszkiewicz compared three figures known from the "legendary" history of Poland, Bohemia and Ruthenia, trying to find in them a common substrate, specific to Slavic (or, broader: Indo-European) ethnogenetic legend. Polish Krak, Czech Krok and Ruthenian Kyi was accompanied by Kloukas, one of the alleged progenitors of Croats, mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Banaszkiewicz, however, considered Kloukas a figure of "ethnogenetic legend of Serbs" (p. 42), and chose only one of possible etymologies of his name (cf. Tadeusz Lewicki, *Klukas*, in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 2, p. 426 [later abbreviated as: SSS]). The very structure of the legend of seven siblings written by Constantine Porphyrogennetos differs from the scheme of other legends in the Banaszkiewicz's list. Another valuable analysis of motifs of legendary Slavic forefathers was made by Třeštík, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 57–78.

living in the medieval Balkans and around the Danube, the motif of wandering brothers seems to be typical not only of the Slavs but also – as is shown by the example of the Bulgarians – of societies belonging to another language family and probably originating from groups of nomads.[38]

For this reason, narrowing the area of comparison to Slavonic legends seems risky. However, Dušan Třeštik showed that it can also lead to interesting conclusions. Analysing the narratives about the origins of the Slavs – including those about the arrival of the Southern Slavs to the Balkans – he tried to conduct a comparative study referring to the concept of a common cultural substrate of Indo-Europeans. However, he could not ignore controversies related to Constantine Porphyrogennetos' record, because in the case of the Croats, we cannot be sure to which language group they originally belonged.[39] Therefore, we do not know whether the legend of their arrival in such a shape belongs to the cultural world of the Indo-Europeans, or rather is closer to the imaginations of the Turkic people, as is indicated by the names of the Croatian heroes. Scholars cannot indisputably classify their etymologies, although there are many indications that they could have been of Turkic origin.[40] If we decided

---

38 The legend of seven siblings can be compared to the ethnogenetic legend of Turkic Proto-Bulgars about sons of Kuvrat and their dispersing in search of new seats. Tangents of both legends were noted by Walter Pohl, *Die Awaren: ein Steppenvolk in Mittleuropa 567–822 n. Chr*. (Munich, 1988), pp. 265–266. Examples of spread of the motif of quest are also provided by Hungarian historiography; in older *Gesta Hungarorum* there is a scheme similar to the Croatian legend of five brothers and two sisters, and to the Bulgarian legend of the sons of Kuvrat, thus perhaps bearing features of a legend typical to steppe nomads – the anonymous author mentioned seven chieftains ("septem principales persone") called "Hetumoger", who accompany Álmos in his wandering (see: *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Béla. The Deeds of the Hungarians*, eds. and trans. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, Budapest/ New York (2010), pp. 3, 11, 17; *Anonimowego notariusza króla Béli Gesta Hungarorum*, trans. Aleksandra Kulbicka, Krzysztof Pawłowski, Grażyna Wodzinowska-Taklińska, ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Krakow, 2006), pp. 26–27, 40–43; also: ibidem, p. 26, footnote 7). Further, the anonymous author also mentioned seven dukes of the Cumans (ibidem, pp. 60–61). In the thirteenth-century chronicle of Simon of Kéza we can find a narrative structure similar to the legend of the wandering of the sons of Senulad. Simon of Kéza writes about sons of Ménrót (Menroth), Hunor and Magor, who travel with their subjects (*Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum*/ Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarian*, eds. László Veszprémy, Frank Shaer (Budapest/New York 1999), pp. 14–22).

39 Třeštík, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 78–98.

40 See: Jooseppi Julius Mikkola, "Avarica," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 41 (1927), pp. 158–160; Osman Karatay, *In Search of the Lost Tribe: The origins and Making of the Croatian Nation* (Çorum, 2003), pp. 80–97. Croats were considered to be a Turkic people, close to the Bulgarians, by Henry H. Howorth, "The spread of the Slavs, IV: The Bulgarians," *The Journal of Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 11 (1882), 224n., while other scholars recognized them as Iranian or Germanic people, thus such ideas should be treated with much caution.

on such an interpretation, the names Touga and Bouga should be qualified as male.[41] The earlier variant of the legend could talk about seven wandering brothers. This motif was widespread in the legends of the Bulgarians and the Hungarians.

According to Třeštik, a similar variant would also not be unusual for the Germans or Slavs. He proposed a comparative study of other Slavic legends of the founding of a state and community, starting with the myth of the common origin of the Slavs – perhaps the most original of them – recorded by the so-called Bavarian Geographer (Geographus Bavarus) in the mid-ninth century, where it was written that the Zeriuani tribe (and it is supposed to be the northern Serbs or Sorbs) "tantum est regnum, ut ex eo cunctae gentes Sclavorum exortae sint, et originem, sicut affirmant, ducant" (only they have the kingdom, and, as they claim, all the tribes of the Slavs come from them).[42] Al-Mas'udi, who wrote his works a century later, mentioned a similar legend regarding the tribe of Walinjana (which Třeštik translates as Volhynians[43]) and their King Madžak, to whom all other Slavic tribes were subordinated.[44] For Třeštik, both fragments were part of one structure telling about the inception of the community. He interpreted Madžak as "Mužik", one of the sons of the royal forefather Muž [Man], a cultural hero with the features of the first man.[45] The name Senulad is sometimes interpreted as "Svevlad" ("the one who rules everything"), making him a figure close to Muž, and his sons close to Mužik in the alleged legendary scheme proposed by Třeštik.

The next stage of the mythical complex would be the narrative about the journey of the brothers. In the High Middle Ages, a legend of this type was present in the historiography of the Western Slavs, while a variant involving the migration of siblings from the north to the south known from *De administrando imperio* – the work edited (or curated) by Constantine Porphyrogennetos – appeared in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and *Historia Salonitana*. The similarities between the Dalmatian tradition concerning the Goths and Porphyrogennetos' tradition seem rather superficial. Třeštík, however, noticed a certain detail which, according to him, proved that the passage in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon was an update of the Croatian

41 See: Lujo Margetić, *Dolazak Hrvata. Ankunft der Kroaten* (Split, 2001), p. 32.

42 Quoted after: Gerard Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej*, vol. 1 (Poznań, 1960), p. 40.

43 Another possible interpretation: "Wolinians", after: Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 40–41.

44 *Marúdžu d-dahabi wa ma' ádinu l-džawáhiri li-l-Mas' údí/ Rýžoviště zlata a doly drahokamů od al-Masúdího*, trans. Ivan Hrbek, Magnae Moraviae Fontes Historici [later abbreviated as: MMFH], v. 3, pp. 404–408.

45 Třeštík, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 34–40.

legend recorded by Porphyrogennetos: the mysterious mention of "septem vel octa tribus nobilium" [seven or eight noble tribes] – Thomas called them "Lingons" – arriving from the territories of Germany and Poland (thus from the north), under Totila's leadership. Also, Radoslav Katičić noticed the relationship between Thomas' narrative (but not that of the Priest of Duklja) and the text *De administando imperio*. He supposed that the Goths were included in the older legend, probably in the eleventh century, and that such a device was inspired by *The Life of St. Domnius*, written slightly earlier.[46]

The reference to nine princes, or probably nine tribes, appeared in the text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* only in reference to the Bulgarians. Totila's name, as the chieftain of the Goths, however, shows that the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* and Thomas the Archdeacon used the same source. It is impossible to determine the relationship between this tradition and the legend appearing in Porphyrogennetos' work. As Třeštik sums up: "Both chronicles [*The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and *Historia Salonitana*] talk about their [the Goths] arrival from the north, which does not have to resemble the version of Croatian history given by Constantine [Porphyrogennetos]. Seven families of 'Lingons', compatible with the seven siblings [in the narrative] of Constantine, could be a distant echo of this version".[47]

It is also unclear how the Priest of Duklja's narrative is linked to the northern tradition of the brothers' journey which developed in Bohemia and Poland (as Třeštik speculates) from the twelfth century, and is known in the expanded version of the three brothers from fourteenth-century sources.[48] This legend placed the Urheimat of the Czechs and the Poles in the south: in Pannonia, Dalmatia, Croatia or Hungary. In Poland, the history of the migration of three brothers – Lech, Czech and Rus – was reported with most detail in *Chronica Poloniae maioris*[49] (although Wincenty Kadłubek, the author of *Chronica Polonorum*, composed at the turn of the twelfth century, used the name "Lechites" referring to Poles). In Bohemia, the tradition of eponymous Bohemus was known earlier to Cosmas,[50] who could pass it to *Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum Bavaricum* from the second half of the thirteenth century,[51]

46 Radoslav Katičić, "Vetustiores Ecclesiae Spalatensis Memoriae," *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* 17 (1987), pp. 20–21. See also: Bruna Kuntić-Makvić, "Kako je Ivan Lučić prikazao dolazak Slavena u dijelu 'De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae'," *Historijski Zbornik* 38 (1985), pp. 131–166.

47 Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 91–92.

48 Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 58–62.

49 *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, ed. Brygida Kürbis, MPH series nova v. 8 (Warsaw, 1970), pp. 4–5.

50 *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 2, pp. 4–6; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, pp. 5–6.

51 *Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum Bavaricum*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS v. 24 (Hannover, 1879), pp. 221–223. See also comparison of traditions of three brothers in: Edward Skibiński, *Przemiany władzy. Narracyjna koncepcja Anonima tzw. Galla i jej podstawy* (Poznań, 2009),

and Dalimil presented it in a confusing version, claiming that a certain "lech" [man], whose name was "Čech", came from a land "v srbském jazyku" [in the Serbian language] called "Charvaty".[52]

What was the relationship between this legend and the legend of the Goths? If we accept the proposal by Třeštik that both of them are variants of a universal legendary scheme depicting the traditional vision of the world, we would have to say that the story of the brothers' journey may indeed have a common genesis. And in this case, we should also look at Brus, Totila and Ostriol as characters appearing in an update of the older legend.

A problem arises when we try to reverse the process of formation of the legend, and assume that the narrative about the migration of the brothers is a bonding tale inspired by some significant historical events and constructed for the needs of a dynamically changing community. Such a solution is not impossible in the case of the oldest variant of the narrative known to us, that is, the legend of the migration of the Croats recorded by Constantine Porphyrogennetos.

Walter Pohl assumes a similar process in his hypothesis. He returned to the old concept (partially formulated in the eighteenth century by Franciscan friar Timon[53]) associating the legend of the Croats with the person of the Bulgarian khan Kuvrat (Kubrat) and the Bulgarian chieftain Kuver.[54] It is not known whether they were the same person, but according to Pohl we can see the connection between Kuver, fighting in the seventh century against the Avars, and khan Kuvrat, the father of five sons who in the Bulgarian ethnogenetic legend dispersed into new lands. Pohl did not go as far in his conjectures as Henri Grégoire – who speculated that legendary Chrobatos, Kuvrat and Kuver were the same person, and regarded the first Croats as the people of Kuver liberated from Avar rule;[55] however, he did attempt to show how the Croatian legend of Chrobatos or the Bulgarian legend of Kuvrat could have been inspired by a significant event, in this case Kuver's uprising against the Avars.

After Pohl, Třeštik listed the most important common features of the narrative on the basis of this event: the division of many families and their exit

pp. 149–169. On mutual filiations between the Czech tradition of Bohemus and the Polish variant of the legend of three brothers, see: Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, p. 65.

52 *Rýmovaná Kronika Česká tak řečeného Dalimila*, ed. Josef Jireček (Praha, 1877), pp. 6–8.

53 S. *Timon Imago antiquae Hungariae, repraesentans terra, adventus, et res gestas gentis hunnicae* (Vienna, 1754), p. 116; Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 236, footnote 1.

54 W. Pohl, *Die Awaren*, pp. 268–282; idem, "Das Awarenreich und die 'kroatischen' Ethnogenesen," in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn*, pp. 293–298.

55 Henri Grégoire, "L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes," *Byzantion* 17 (1944/45), pp. 91. Similar concepts – associating Croats with Kuvrat – after Timon yet before Grégoire were presented by Henry Hoyle Howorth (in 1882) and by Hermann Wirth (in 1905) (also: Margetić, *Dolazak Hrvata*, p. 200, footnotes 555–556).

from Urheimat, crossing the river (Danube), settling in new territories, fighting against the Avars, and conquering the local population, often resulting in establishing new alliances.[56] As we can see, the tale of the Goths, in the shape in which it functioned in Dalmatia in the High Middle Ages, only possessed some of these features, and today we have no grounds to claim that it belongs to a hypothetical circle of images related, even loosely, to Kuvrat and the seventh-century events. In the case of *Regnum Sclavorum*, it would probably be closer to the legend of the arrival of the Bulgarians, which seems to have more in common with the tale of Kubrat's sons.

6 In Search of Historical Sources of "Gothomania"

Attempts to read the narrative of the Goths literally shows the danger associated with the search for historical sources of a legend. Efforts to find the roots of tales from chronicles of the actual historical processes that took place in the south-eastern Europe from the Early Middle Ages to the tenth and eleventh centuries may lead to hypotheses containing elements of over-interpretation. The lack of sources obscures the picture of this period even more, giving rise to most controversial ideas. Supporters of the "Gothic theory" want to read much later records (including those known from *Regnum Sclavorum*) as though they could tell us something of the actual origin of the Slavs and the processes of ethnogenesis in the Balkans in the Early Middle Ages, rather than viewing them as representatives of a tradition, be it scholarly or folk, serving the needs of a given dynasty or a given community.[57] Such an idea has appeared outdated for a long time. It is no coincidence that in 1937, Stjepan Krizin Sakač (himself a proponent of the controversial Iranian theory on the origin of the Croats)

56 Třeštík, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 90–91.

57 The course and state of the discussion on the "Gothic" origin of the Croats was summed up comprehensively by Denis Evgenievič Alimov, "Gotskaja teorija proishoždenija Horvatov. Pro et contra," [Д. Е. Алимов, Готская теория происхождения Хорвтов. Pro et contra] *Voprosy istorii slavjan* 21 (2013), pp. 55–74; idem, "Goticizm v Horvatii: ot srednevekovja k novomu vrmenii," [Д. Е. Алимов "Готицизм в Хорватии: от Средневековья к Новому времени"] *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Serija 4, Istorija. Regionovedenie. Mezhdunarodnye otnoshenija* 2 (2017), no. 22, pp. 25–34. See also: Florin Curta, "The Making of the Slavs. Between Ethnogenesis, Invention and Migration," *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2 (2008), pp. 155–172; idem, *The making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700* (Cambridge, 2001); John V. A. Fine Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans. A study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods* (Ann Arbor, 2010), pp. 47, 227, 485.

critically summarized attempts to understand the theory of the Gothic roots of the Slavs literally – the phenomenon also known as "Gothomania" in local historiography: "In recent years the long-rejected *Gothic hypothesis* has come alive again; according to it, the Croats are Slavicized Goths. This phenomenon was the effect of the publication of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* in the critical edition by Šišić. He, among others, showed that the so-called 'Gothomania' in the works of the Priest of Duklja and Thomas the Archdeacon had no historical foundations and was caused by: 1) the custom of the writers of that time to give new peoples the names of older peoples who lived in the same territory before them, 2) the meaning of the word 'Goth' in the language of the medieval Dalmatian Romans – it was an epithet given to heretics, violent and crude people, and simpletons. That is why they called the Croats in this way".[58] However, not everybody was convinced by such explanations, yet in recent years we can again see a return to such an interpretation of the stories of the Goths, which in fact gives the impression of politically motivated references to older historiography.[59]

A literal understanding of the narrative about the Goths settling in the Balkan Peninsula raises many problems. Doubts can be raised about the possible transfer of a tradition as old as the Migration Period and how it would affect the shape of records such as *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Historia Salonitana*, and whether it is possible today to verify any modification of particular – allegedly historical – threads. The difficulty of this kind even increases, if we take into account the insufficiently accurate knowledge about the process of settling these areas in general and, above all, settling by the Slavs.[60] This may lead to a vicious circle of erroneous reasoning in which "historical facts" are constructed with the help of literal readings of texts without the critical analysis.

58 Stjepan Krizin Sakač, "O kaukasko-iranskom podrijetlu Hrvata," *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti*, 1 (1937),no. 18, p. 1.

59 This issue is discussed below.

60 The issue of ethnogenesis of the Slavs still evokes lively discussion among historians. Works by Curta and Dzino, undermining the records of Greek historians (including Constantine Porphyrogennetos), should also be considered revolutionary in the sense that they reignited the discussion about the origin of the Slavs. As this topic is not directly related to our argument, let us recommend some of the numerous summaries of this historiographic discussion: Jędrzej Heyduk, "Źródła do tzw. etnogenezy Chorwatów dalmatyńskich w świetle nowszej literatury," Slavia Antiqua 44 (2003), pp. 33–51; Zofia Kurnatowska, "Słowianie Południowi," in *Wędrówka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*, eds. Maciej Salamon, Jerzy Strzelczyk (Krakow, 2010), pp. 231–250; M. Parczewski, *Współczesne poglądy w sprawie etnogenezy oraz wielkiej wędrówki Słowian*, in *Wędrówka i etnogeneza*, pp. 221–230.

As we shall see, the process of explaining one hypothesis by means of another is most often supported by the authority of the predecessors.

The old concept of the Gothic origins of the Croats promoted by Ludwik Gumplowicz[61] had been reconsidered in various ways by pre-war scholars such as Kerubin Šegvić,[62] Ljudmil Hauptmann,[63] and two other Slovenians – Jakob Kelemina[64] and Jože Rus.[65] All of them focused primarily on the arrival of the Slavs and the Croats to the Balkans. Some of them used the text in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* – both in Latin and the Croatian versions – to formulate far-reaching and sometimes controversial claims.

Šegvić and Rus were the most radical in their literal interpretations of "Gothomania". They both claimed that some "slivers of memory" of the origin of the Croats from the Germanic Goths and their symbiosis with the conquered Slavs during the Early Middle Ages were preserved in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon, as well as in both versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.[66] Šegvić's hypotheses gained political support from the Ustaše-controlled Independent State of Croatia (NDH), and gradually they had more in common with contemporary propaganda than with scientific work.[67]

Rus, who argued that the Priest of Duklja had to rely on Gothic sources, tried to adjust the text of *Regnum Sclavorum* by using his own historical knowledge: he identified Senulad [1] with Vandalarius, and Brus, Totila and Ostroil

---

61 See: Ludwik Gumplowicz, "Die politische Geschichte der Serben und Croaten," *Politisch-antropologische Revue* 1 (1902/1903), pp. 779–789. Gumplowicz saw early Croatian elites as the remnants of a Gothic-Slavic symbiosis in the period of formation of the Croatian statehood in the Balkans.

62 Cherubin Segvić [Kerubin Šegvić], "Die gotische Abstammung der Kroaten," *Nordische Welt* 9–12 (1935), pp. 1–56; idem, "Hrvat, Got i Slav u djelu Tome Splićanina," *Nastavni vjesnik* 40 (1931/ 1932), pp. 18–25.

63 Ljudmil Hauptmann, who had a critical attitude to the "Goth" theory, nevertheless maintained the idea of distinction (significant in this context) between members of the "Croatian elite" and the Slavs, being their subjects, and reports provided by the Priest of Duklja were, in his opinion, descriptions of events at the end of the fifth century: "Kroaten, Goten und Sarmaten. Die gotische Tradition beim Popen Dukljanin," *Germanoslavica* 3 (1935), pp. 95–127, 315–353; idem, "Podrijetlo hrvatskoga plemstva," *Rad HAZU* 273 (1942), pp. 88–96; idem, "Dolazak Hrvata," in *Zbornik kralja Tomislava. U spomen tisućugodišnjice hrvatskoga kraljevstva* (Zagreb, 1925), pp. 126–127.

64 Jakob Kelemina, "Goti na Balkanu," *Časopis za zgodovino i narodopisje*, 3–4 (1932), no. 27, pp. 121–136; idem, "Popa Dukljanina 'Libellus Gothorum' (I–VII). Studija o starogermanskih spominih v naši zemlji," *Etnolog* 12 (1939), pp. 15–35.

65 Jože Rus, "Slovanstvo in vislanski Hrvatje 6. do 10. stoletja," *Etnolog* 5 (1933), pp. 31–45.

66 See: Šegvić, "Hrvat, Got i Slav," idem, *Toma Arhiđakon, državnik i pisac 1200–1268. Njegov život i njegovo djelo* (Zagreb, 1927).

67 Mario Jareb, "Jesu li Hrvati postali Goti? Odnos ustaša i vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske prema neslavenskim teorijama o podrijetlu Hrvata," *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 3 (2008), pp. 869–882.

with Valamer, Vidimer and Theodemir, three brothers (although to be precise Theodimer was in fact the brother-in-law of the first two) known from Jordanes's record around the time of the Amal dynasty. As Miho Barada remarked, expressing his opinion on the ideas of Rus, the recognition of Senulad [11] as the famous King Theodoric the Great was the most controversial of them. Identification of these to figures was justified on the basis of the etymology of the name Senulad. Rus, like many other scholars, regarded it to be a distorted form of the word "Svevlad".[68] According to him, its etymology is identical with the meaning of the name "Theodoric" (Thiudareiks): "the one who rules".[69] "No one who learned about this famous ruler would choose to support such an identification", wrote Barada in his critical text.[70]

Various hypotheses formulated by Ivan Mužić were, to a certain extent, a return to similar ideas. Mužić advocated the "autochthonous theory of the origin of the Croats". Referring to more recent works on the origin of the Slavs and their "formation" in the course of ethnogenesis, which seemed to be more dynamic than earlier claimed (Florin Curta,[71] Herwig Wolfram, Walter Pohl, Neven Budak[72]), he also developed a controversial concept of a Gothic-Slavic symbiosis.[73] At the same time he used a rather archaic and straightforward criticism of the sources available to him, which was characterized by a disturbing

68 Reviewing the work by Rus, Antun Mayer noticed a possible parallel of the name "Svevlad" in the Russian/Ruthenian name Vsevolod: Antun Mayer, "J. Rus, 'Kralji dinastije Svevladičev'," *Nastavni vjesnik* 1–3 (1932/33), no. 41, pp. 79–85.

69 Jože Rus, *Kralji dinastije Svevladičev – najstarejši skupni vladarji Hrvatov in Srbov 454–614* (Ljubljana, 1931), p. 61nn.

70 Miho Barada, "Dvije publikacije Jože Rusa," *Bogoslovenska smotra* 4 (1933), no. 20, p. 499. A similar opinion about the publication of Rus was also expressed by Niko Županić in his review, "'Kralji dinastije Svevladičev – najstarejši skupni vladarji Hrvatov in Srbov 454–614'," *Etnolog* 7 (1934), pp. 198–206.

71 Curta called *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* a "different kind" of historical source – "a remarkable gauge for the level of literacy and for the political implications of literary production twelfth-century Dalmatia", see: Florin Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 14–15, 210.

72 Neven Budak, analysing fragments of the works of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja concerning arrival (as well as baptism) of the Croats and the Slavs, noticed that none of them offer reliable information on this subject: Neven Budak, "Tumačenje podrijetla i najstarije povijesti Hrvata u djelima srednjovjekovnih pisaca," in *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, p. 78.

73 Primarily a series of works corrected by Ivan Mužić during two decades seeking evidence of Croatian indigenousness, at the same time trying to mark "Gothic" and "Slavic" stages of their ethnogenesis. These works barely meet the criteria of reliable scientific studies: Ivan Mužić, *Podrijetlo Hrvata* (*autohtonost u hrvatskoj etnogenezi na tlu rimske provincije Dalmacije*) (Zagreb 1989); idem, *Slaveni, Goti i Hrvati na teritoriju rimske provincije Dalmacije* (Zagreb, 1997); idem, "Hrvatska kronika od 547. do 1089. Libellus Gothorum (Kraljevstvo Slavena) kao izvor za staru povijest Hrvata (s posebnim osvrtom na VI., VII.

liberty in the selection of quotes (as was pointed out in a review of his work by Radoslav Katičić).[74] Mužić, like many pre-war historians, confused arguments of various kinds in his reasoning. His starting point was the assumption that the proper name "Croat" has Germanic/Gothic roots, and from this premise – referring to extensive discussions by linguists on this issue (which have still not been conclusively settled) – he attempted to postulate conclusions regarding the source texts that had been written long after the arrival of the Slavs (and the Croats) to south-eastern Europe. Mužić, while discussing the Gothic traditions from the Middle Ages among phenomena associated with Dalmatian/Croatian "Gothomania", also included the issue of the tomb of Bolesław the Brave.[75] This approach, however, seems to have been superficially prepared. Mužić considered the kings of the Goths as ruling in the Early Middle Ages on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. He also believed that the term *Regnum Sclavorum* contained a distinctive Gothic-Slavic and indigenous-Dalmatian component.[76]

The "Getian theory", presented recently by Damjan Pešut, can be regarded as a specific variation of the "Gothic theory" (also related to the autochthonous

---

i VIII. stoljeće)," *Hrvatska obzorja* 2 (1998), part 2, pp. 267–328; idem, *Hrvatska kronika u Ljetopisu popa Dukljanina* (Split, 2011).

74 Radoslav Katičić, "Ivan Mužić o podrijetlu Hrvata," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3 (1989), no. 19, p. 248. Katičić pointed out the methodological shortcomings of the work of Mužić, blaming him for arbitrary choice of quotation and too often a trusting approach, instead of a critical one, to sources in his work. The answer of Mužić: *U povodu Katičićeve recenzije*, Hrvatska prosvjeta, v. 3, 19 (1989), pp. 271–284.

75 In the tomb of the first king of Poland, Bolesław I the Brave, destroyed in 1790, there was an epitaph known today from several copies. The territories ruled by the king were defined as *Regnum Sclavorum, Gothorum sive Polonorum*. It is not clear when the epitaph was made and its content is disputable (see: Józef Birkenmajer, "Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego (Próba ustalenia tekstu)," in *Munera philologica Ludovico Ćwikliński bis sena lustra professoria claudenti ab amicis collegisdiscipulis oblata* (Poznań, 1936), pp. 347–370; Ryszard Gansiniec, "Nagrobek Bolesława Chrobrego," *Przegląd Zachodni* 7 (1951), no. 7/8, pp. 359–437). Przemysław Wiszewski, summarising the debate, was inclined to accept the eleventh-century genesis of the epitaph preserving traces of the tradition from the reign of Mieszko II Lambert [the son and successor of Bolesław I the Brave]: Przemysław Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai. Values and social identity in dynastic traditions of medieval Poland* (*c. 966–1138*) (Leiden/Boston 2010), pp. 55–65. Various interpretative concepts on the term "Goths" in the text of the epitaph were discussed by Brygida Kürbis, who considered this fragment as *crux interpretum*. Referring to the analogy Goths-Gaete, she reflected whether this name could be related to Old Prussians or Yotvingians. This name could also apply to Saxons and be a reference to the conquests of Bolesław I the Brave in the West: "Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego. Analiza literacka i historyczna," in eadem, *Na progach historii*, v. 2: *O świadectwach do dziejow kultury Polski średniowiecznej* (Poznań, 2001), pp. 268–269.

76 Mužić, *Nastajanje hrvatskog naroda na Balkanu*, pp. 21n.

hypothesis). The former was actually a slight modification of the latter. According to it, both the anonymous author(s) of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, and Thomas the Archdeacon, following other medieval writers (for instance Isidore of Seville[77]), confused the Goths with the Getae. According to Pešut, the term "Goti qui et Sclavi" should rather be translated as "Geti qui et Sclavi". Pešut presented an image (very unconvincing, in our opinion) of the migration of the Goths, their assimilation with the Danubian Getae, and then with the Slavs, and at the same time, surprisingly, concluded that "the kings of the Goths" from *The Chronicle of Priest of Duklja* were rather the kings of Getae, the people who – according to Pešut – coexisted peacefully with the Slavs after the departure of the Goths.[78]

The ideas of the above-mentioned scholars are characterized by an uncritical faith in the literal reading of the source. The "Gothomania" understood as such would in fact refer to knowledge (acquired from the resources of some collective memory or from unknown written sources) about the migration of the Slavs, the creation of the Slavic state, and the assimilation of various ethnic groups previously settled in Dalmatia. Such an approach implicitly suggests that the methodology and knowledge of the medieval chroniclers were similar to the methodology and knowledge of contemporary historians. However, the hypotheses of Rus, Šegvić, and then Mužić and Pešut should be considered unverifiable, for they failed to show the connection between the chronicles written in the High Middle Ages and community-building or state-building processes that took place in the Balkans (at least) five hundred years earlier.

Hauptmann and Kelemina presented more cautious views. Both of them also associated the Goths with the first stage of the Croatian ethnogenesis and considered the Croats as an element which was clearly different from the Slavs. However, they tried to locate the sources of "Gothomania" in a slightly different way, showing how historical memory of the events from the Early Middle Ages could be transferred to local traditions, and from there to scriptoria in which *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and *Historia Salonitana* were written. Hauptmann suspected that the Priest of Duklja could have known Germanic songs about wars which the Goths had fought with the Huns, and because of the similarity of names, he mistook Totila for Attila.[79] He was supported by

77 *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, eds. Stephen A. Barney, W. J. Lewis, J. A. Beach, Oliver Berghof (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 195, 197, 198.

78 Damjan Pešut, "Goti koji su i Slaveni (Goti qui et Sclavi)," *Migracijske i etničke teme* 4 (1997), vol. 13, pp. 301–334.

79 Hauptmann, *Kroaten, Goten und Sarmaten*, p. 235. German epic songs mentioning Attila and their place among European legends of the rulers of Huns are discussed in: Ryszard Grzesik, "Niezwykła kariera Attyli – od Bicza Bożego do popularnego imienia," in idem,

Kelemina, who suggested that the chroniclers in Croatia and Dalmatia could read fragments of hypothetical *Gesta Hunnorum* and old traditions preserved in Hungarian chronicles, telling about Attila's arrival. Thus, the Priest of Duklja – because of the alleged early chronology of *Regnum Sclavorum* – could have encountered not so much a written record as an oral tradition known in Hungary, which later became a part of the narration of the anonymous Bele Regis Notarius.[80]

The idea that Totila could be mistaken for Attila was even older. A Serbian historian, Stanoje Stanojević, drew attention to the similarity of the two names, though he believed that its sources should be sought in Western Europe rather than in Hungary. Stanojević claimed that the names of the great conqueror Attila and the somewhat lesser-known Gothic King Totila could be erroneously identified in the chronicles of Northern Italy. He also assumed that chroniclers, being raised in the Latin tradition, could see Attila as the king of the Vandals, who were often identified with the Slavs, as we shall see in a moment.[81] In his opinion, this – rather than knowledge of the older legends of the Huns or the Goths – could possibly explain the mistake by medieval chroniclers.[82]

The tendency to confuse Attila and Totila can be seen in medieval written sources from both Italy and Germany, as well as Hungary and Poland.[83] Such a mistake was made by Peter the Deacon in *Chronica Monasteri Casinensis* from the twelfth century.[84] In the same century, Godfrey of Viterbo in his *Speculum regum* not only mistook Attila for Totila and the other way round, but also called the former "the king of the Vandals" and the latter "the king of the Huns".[85] Similar information was included in some copies of *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* by Martin of Opava, which proves the dissemination of this mistake in the thirteenth century.[86]

Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis. Studia z dziejów kultury środkowoeuropejskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu (Warsaw, 2014), pp. 82–91.

80 Kelemina, *Popa Dukljanina "Libellus Gothorum"*, pp. 20–26.

81 On narrative links between Attila and Slavs in medieval historiography see: Ryszard Grzesik, "Attyla a Słowianie. Przyczynekdowyobrażeń o kontaktach huńsko-słowiańskich w średniowiecznych źródłach narracyjnych," *Roczniki Historyczne* 59 (1993), pp. 33–42.

82 Stanoje Stanojević, "O prvim glavama Dukljanskog Letopisa," *Glas – Srpska kraljevska akademija. Drugi razred* 126 (1927), pp. 93–101.

83 Grzesik, "Attyla a Słowianie," pp. 39–41.

84 *Leonis Marsicani et Petri diaconi Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach, MPH SS vol. 7, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1846), p. 740.

85 "Thotila rex Hunnorum, sive Athila rex Wandalorum Belam germanum … peremit", *Gotifredi Vitebiensis Speculum regum*, ed. Georg Waitz, MGH SS vol. 22, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz (Hannover, 1872), p. 85.

86 After: Brygida Kürbis, "Wstęp," in *Kronika Wielkopolska*, trans. Kazimierz Abgarowicz (Warsaw, 1965), p. 53, footnote 25.

Due to Martin of Opava, the association of the two militant chieftains was known to Paul of Venice (Paulinus Venetus).[87] Confusing Attila and Totila also became an important element of the legends of the foundation of Florence. *Chronica de origine civitatis*, written in the first half of the thirteenth century, named Totila *flagellum Dei*, "the scourge of God", an epithet of Attila, and attributed him with the deeds of the Hunnic chieftain.[88] It is probable that the topos came to Hungary from Italy. A letter by Bela IV to Rome written in 1254 describes Totila's invasion from the east and the establishment of his base in Hungary (which, of course, should be associated with Attila).[89] The author of the interpolation in *Chronica Poloniae maioris* developed these threads even further, identifying Hungarians as Slavs – specifically with the Vkrians, one of the Pomeranian tribes. He mentioned "Hungari, qui et ipsi sunt Slavi", and claimed, after Martin of Opava, that their king's name was Attila, or Tila.[90] Angelus de Stargardia, a fourteenth-century Pomeranian chronicler, considered Attila to be the ruler of the Vandals (and then the Pomeranians).[91]

It can be assumed that the image of Attila, "the scourge of God", in the Priest of Duklja's work was also confused with the image of the chieftain who conquered Dalmatia.[92] The topos was strong enough that the chronicler could attribute it to a barbarian ruler who punished the Christians for their sins – the role performed in *Regnum Sclavorum* by Totila. However, if this really happened, it is possible that the authors who included this tradition in their chronicles

87 "Attila quem Martinus Totilam vocat belli amator supplicantibus exorabilis propicius cunctis in fide receptis fultis fortisismarum gentium ostergotorum gepidarum et aliarum quas sibi subiugaverat presidio ad demoliendum romanum imperium contendit", quoted after: Sándor Eckhardt, *A pannóniai hún történet keletkezése* (Budapest, 1928), pp. 11–12 [I would like to thank Lesław Spychała for his help and valuable suggestions concerning identification of Attila and Totila in Hungarian historiography].

88 *Chronica de origine civitatis*, in *Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz*, ed. Otto Hartwig, part 1 (Marburg, 1875), p. 57. In the Introduction, Hartwig also discusses the aforementioned examples of identification of two barbarian chieftains and its function within the Florence tradition, pp. XVII–XVIII.

89 "Totila in exemplum veniat, qui ex parte Orientis ad Occidentem veniens subiugandam, in medio regni Hungariae sede suam principaliter collocauit", after: *Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, ed. György Feyér, vol. 4, part 2 (Buda, 1829), p. 222.

90 *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, p. 7.

91 Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół. Kamieńska kronika – Rodowód książąt pomorskich, tzw. Stargardzka genealogia*, tranls. Elwira Buszewicz, ed. Edward Rymar (Stargard, 2008), pp. 44–45.

92 In this context, however, the question of the possible prototype of Ostroil remains unanswered. The later tradition of seeing Attila a distant relative of Hasdrubal is probably an erroneous speculation. Sándor Eckhardt also mentions a figure from Italian folklore, a man named *Ostribardo, re de ongaria*, whose daughter gave birth to Attila from her union with a greyhound (Eckhardt, *A pannóniai hún történet keletkezése*, p. 27), which for our considerations is just a curiosity.

might not have been aware of their mistake. Thomas the Archdeacon knew the connection between Attila and Hungary, and he did not identify the two figures. Also, *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* mentions King Attila in connection with the invasion of the Magyars, not the Goths. This coincidence once again raises the question of mutual links between *The Chronicle* and *Historia Salonitana*, yet the appearance of the names Totila and Attila in both works does not bring any conclusive answers. We can only assume that the very source of the Dalmatian tradition of Totila could be a legend using the image of Attila, a much more famous figure, as an exemplary savage barbarian king, yet neither the Priest of Duklja nor Thomas the Archdeacon could recognize it.

7 The Narrative about the Goth Chieftains as an Element of Erudite History

In the narrative of the Goths, elements of erudite history can be recognized, a "fictional history", which could, to a large extent, be a product of the chroniclers' imagination. In such a case, we would talk about a specific "cabinet work", as the phenomenon of Gothicism of the South Slavic was described by Jerzy Strzelczyk.[93] This type of work made in the comfort of a scriptorium would have no connection with either the alleged Slavonic-Gothic symbiosis in the Early Middle Ages or with any ancient legendary tradition of unknown origin preserved among the Croats in an updated form. Rather, it would reflect the authors' erudition and their knowledge (even indirect) of ancient writers who reported on the journeys of the Goths. It could also represent the borrowing of an earlier plot about the attack of the Goths on Dalmatia, created in the High Middle Ages, and probably later than in the tenth century, because it was unknown to Constantine Porphyrogennetos.

The existence of such a tradition may be confirmed by characteristic similarities between the narrative of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and the work of Thomas the Archdeacon. As was claimed by Šišić, it is possible that a particular source, now lost, was the basis for both authors.[94] The use of the Gothic theme in two works with such different overtones and different ideological messages as *The Chronicle* (in both version) and *Historia Salonitana*, may testify to not only the popularity of the legend of the Goths in Dalmatia in the High Middle Ages, but also to the fact that the vision of the origins of the Slavs in connection with this barbarian tribe turned out to be attractive

93 Strzelczyk, *Goci – rzeczywistość i legenda*, p. 377.
94 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 50–51.

to such different authors, although for different reasons. A detailed analysis of these motivations will be discussed later. Let us now try to look at possible elements that could influence the shape of the narrative in the course of such a "cabinet work".

From Stanojević's time, some scholars have attempted to find Italian influences in the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, especially in the fragment on the Goths. The impression of the accuracy of such an intuition was further reinforced by the reference to the figure of St. Benedict of Nursia in the introduction of the story of the conquests of the Goths. After Stanojević,[95] Radojčić[96] and Šišić[97] also suggested that the Priest of Duklja used some text written in the monastery at Monte Cassino.[98] Katičić similarly believed that the sources of "Gothomania" were twofold: Thomas the Archdeacon used the local Split tradition, while the Priest of Duklja used the Monte Cassino tradition.[99] For these theses, the most important point was the introduction to the Gothic narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* which mentioned Emperor Anastasius, Pope Gelasius and the saints: Sabinus of Canosa, Germanus of Capua and Benedict of Nursia.

As was demonstrated by Živković, *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, which actually contained a description of the conquest of Theodoric, the king of the Goths, began its narrative somewhat differently to *Regnum Sclavorum*: "Temporibus Iustini imperatoris maioris et Iustiniani fuit sanctus Benedictus sub Iohanne papa. Eodem tempore Theordericus rex in Italia praefuit"[100] (In the time of the great Emperor Justin and Justinian, lived Saint Benedict under Pope John. At that time, King Theodoric entered Italy). In this case, the chronology only differs slightly from the one in the text by the Priest of Duklja. It is also more credible, because both Emperor Justin I (518–527) and Justinian (527–565) provide a slightly better time reference for the activities of St. Benedict than Anastasius ruling before them. In this case, however, it is difficult to suppose that the Priest of Duklja himself would decide on this type of temporal shift if he really used the quoted chronicle.[101]

Živković also drew attention to another detail – in his opinion, even more important – namely, the emphasis that the Priest of Duklja put on the corruption

95 Stanojević, "O prvim glavama Dukljanskog Letopisa," pp. 91–101.
96 Radojčić, *O najtamnijem odeljku Barskog rodoslova*, p. 14.
97 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 421–422.
98 Katičić, "Vetustiores Ecclesiae Spalatensis Memoriae," p. 21, footnote 12.
99 Katičić, "Vetustiores Ecclesiae Spalatensis Memoriae," p. 21.
100 *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, MGH SS rerum Longobardicarum et Italicarum, ed. Georg Waitz (Hannover, 1878), p. 488.
101 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 71–72.

of Anastasius with the sin of heresy as propagated by Eutyches. Živković, who regarded the phrase "Regnate in urbe Constantinopolitana" as typical of chronicles from Northern Italy, found an even closer analogy in the thirteenth-century text of Albertus Milioli: "Anno Domini CCCCXCII. Anastasius regnavit apud Constantinopolim anXXVI. Qui Euticianam sapuit heresim [...]. Et si vis aliud invenire his temporibus, require in ystoria pontificis Gelasii pape primi" (In the year of the Lord 492, Anastasius ruled in Constantinople for 26 years. He supported the heresy of Eutyches [...]. And if you want to find something in those times, it will be the history of Pope Gelasius I).[102] However, the simultaneous reference to the heretic Anastasius and Pope Gelasius does not necessarily indicate that the Priest of Duklja knew Milioli's text. Živković was aware of this, because he tried to strengthen the significance of this reference with the example in *Chronica Universalis* written by Sicard of Cremona at the start of the thirteenth century. This alleged source used by Milioli contains a reference to Anastasius ("Qui Euticianam sapuit heresim"), but it did not mention Gelasius as the pope contemporary to this emperor. Like *Regnum Sclavorum*, it also included a reference to St. Germanus of Capua, and then to St. Benedict of Nursia.[103]

Živković noted that mentioning those saints, famous in their own time, was not unusual in Northern Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The most interesting of the texts that included references to the figures mentioned above was *Translatione sancti Sabini episcopi Canusini* from the turn of the eighth century, which besides St. Sabinus of Canosa, also mentioned St. Germanus of Capua and St. Benedict of Nursia, known from the introduction to *Regnum Sclavorum*.[104] Parts of the work did not survive to our times. Živković speculated that the lost passages included a report on the conquest of Italy by the Goths under Totila's command.[105] Although this is only a supposition, the fact that the name Totila appears later in the work, in the context of the prophecy about his death formulated by St. Benedict,[106] makes it more probable, which would be another analogy with *Regnum Sclavorum*.

Although the introduction to the Priest of Duklja's Gothic narrative could indeed be somewhat determined by the earlier written tradition, scholars did

102 *Alberti Millioli notarii regini Cronica imperatorum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH SS vol. 31 (Hannover, 1903), p. 613.

103 *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis Cronica*, MGH SS vol. 31 (Hannover, 1903), p. 137, verse 31, p. 138, verse 3–4, p. 138, verse 20–22, p. 141, verse 13–14; see: Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 72–75.

104 *Ex vita et translatione sancti Sabini episcopi Canusini*, MGH SS rerum Longobardicarum et Italicarum (Hannover, 1878), p. 587, verse 7–9.

105 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 75.

106 *Ex vita et translatione sancti Sabini*, pp. 585–586.

not succeed in discovering the sources of the story of the invasion of the Goths, the migration of the brothers, and the establishment by one of them of a state on the Adriatic coast. None of the Latin texts includes the names of Totila's brothers, Ostroil and Brus. In this respect, the narrative of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* departs significantly from even Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative, although it also belongs to the circle of Dalmatian Gothicism.

Nikola Banašević, when he commented on the concepts of Rus regarding the similarity between the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* and the works of Jordanes (*Getica* and *Romana*) – in the first place, the aforementioned analogy to the three alleged sons of Vandalarius: Valamir, Vidimer and Theodemir – noted that a much more valid parallel can be found in the Bible, in the history of Noah's sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth.[107] The three sons of Noah were a constant element of many legends about the scattering of peoples recorded by medieval chronicles.[108] In the case of *Regnum Sclavorum*, however, this explanation cannot be considered fully satisfactory, at least because of the abundance of motifs and manifestations of the tradition of wandering siblings, which we mentioned above.

Živković tried to establish a certain textual community with the aforementioned Slavic tradition of the journey of the brothers Lech, Czech and Rus. Unlike Třeštik, in the delicate resemblance of this story to the legend of the sons of Senulad, he did not see a manifestation of a former community, but rather evidence of newer contacts and cultural exchanges between the areas on the Adriatic coast and Western Slavdom. Živković, as we know from the previous chapter, supposed that the anonymous author of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* could come from Bohemia, as might be suggested by his alleged knowledge of *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas and *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymus.[109] However, according to Živković, it is impossible that the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* (who in this situation it would be difficult to call "the Priest of Duklja") could know the narrative about the

107 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 51.

108 See: Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sparachen und Völker* (Munich, 1995) [about this topos in Middle Ages: vol. 1, part 2 and vol. 2, part 1].

109 An interesting comparative analysis of the place of *The Chronicle* among Slavic records concerning the origins of the dynasty and possible inspirations by oral tradition was presented by Sergiej V. Alekseev in his numerous works. See: "Letopis popa Dukljanina: Drevneslovjanskogo rodoslovnogo predanja," [С. В. Алексеев, "Летопись попа Дуклянина: структура ревнесловянского родословного предания"] *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie* 3 (2006), pp. 140–148; idem, "Trebin'skaja legenda Dukljanina: popytka istoričeskoj rekonstrukcii," ["Требиньская легенда Дуклянина: попытка исторической реконструкции"] *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie* 4 (2013), pp. 183–188.

brothers from *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, composed later.[110] On the other hand, Živković claimed that Jordanes' work was the source of the narrative of the Goths in *Regnum Sclavorum*: "On the basis of *Romana* by Jordanes, the Priest of Duklja could not only introduce the Goths and the narrative on them, but also settle them in Pannonia. For this reason his work has more convergent points with Jordanes than with Bogufał, and we can exclude Bogufał from the circle of written sources [used by the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*]".[111] We can agree with this last conclusion, because we also think that *Chronica Poloniae maioris* was not even indirectly known to the author of the Gothic fragment of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. It is impossible, however, to resist the impression that Živković, formulating this but no other conclusions, was rather dependent on the chronology of the creation of the work which he himself had accepted – the end of the thirteenth century – close to the date when *Chronica Poloniae maioris* was composed. Such a dating would rule out the possibility of including it in the set of probable inspirations for stories about the journey of the brothers.

Nevertheless, we do not think it likely that Jordanes' works would have had a direct influence on *Regnum Sclavorum*. If indeed the first chapters of *Regnum Sclavorum* were primarily an erudite construction, which had little in common with the popular legend and much more with Jordanes' work, the question arises: why did the Priest of Duklja decide to camouflage this erudition? As has already been stated, some elements common to "Gothomania" – such as Totila's appearance, and the characteristics of the Goths, the role of the city of Salona in the narrative, and the motif of the Byzantine emperor – persuade us to recognize that the entire phenomenon can be derived (although not directly) from some common narrative core. We can barely find these elements in Jordanes's work, which does not mean, however, that the threads present in his *Getica* could not be the distant sources of this narrative tradition.

In the case of the narrative of the Goths in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon and the two editors of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, there are too many convergences to be accidental, which makes the hypothesis about some lost text or an oral tradition popular in the Adriatic region known to the authors of the abovementioned works more credible. Neither Thomas nor the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* constructed the Gothic thread

110 Živković suggested that *Chronica Poloniae maioris* was written by Bogufał (Boguphalus) II, the Bishop of Poznań – quite an outdated attribution: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 77. On the subject of Bogufał in the context of the chronicle see: Kürbis, "Wstęp" in *Kronika Wielkopolska*, pp. 19–20.

111 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 79.

from scratch; they used an outline of the story that we can still recognize in their very different texts.

8 The Croatian Version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* about the Arrival of the Goths and Their Rulers

The realization of the story of the migrations of the Goths, as well as the function assigned to them, were clearly different in the particular narratives from the circle of Dalmatian "Gothomania". Even in the two basic variants of *The Chronicle*, one can notice diversity affecting the meaning of the text.

Although the legend which we find in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* does not differ significantly from the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, there were some changes in it that introduced new information about the Goths, their arrival, and their characteristics. The Latin and Old-Croatian texts are mostly similar to each other – as far as the different characters of the languages allowed them to be – and the differences can often be considered as the result of corruption in the process of reproduction or translation; yet some modifications should be considered as the intentional actions of one of the authors. These are related to four elements of the narrative which are important to us:

1. The chronology of the Gothic invasion is presented slightly differently in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. Neither the emperor nor the pope is mentioned by name. The sentence "Kraljujući cesar u gradi basiliji cesarstva" (Emperor ruled in the city of the empire's *basileis*) was interpreted by Šišić in such a way that it would refer to the name of Emperor Basil,[112] but the more convincing thesis is from Mošin, that it was a literal translation of the phrase "urbs Constantopolitana" – through analogy to the Greek βασίλειος πόλις, "city of emperors".[113] Živković interpreted this expression in a different way. He believed that in the lost manuscript of the Croatian version (the so-called Papalić manuscript), the text referred to Emperor Justinian.[114] The name of this emperor is found in the translation of this version into Latin, made by Marulić in 1510.[115] It is not known, however, whether Marulić, who

112 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 423.

113 Mošin, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, p. 40, footnote 3.

114 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 70.

115 *Regvm Dalmatię atque Croatie gesta a Marco Marulo Spalatensi Patritio Latinitate Donata*, ed. Neven Jovanović, *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009), p. 34.

worked with the Papalić manuscript, actually read Justinian's name in it, or whether he put it in the text on his own initiative. The Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, just like the Latin one, placed the invasion of Dalmatia in the time of the Saints Jerman [Germanus], Scilur (rightly corrected by the publishers to Sabinus), and Benedict.

However, in the text of the Croatian version, the Goths did not come from the north, as in *Regnum Sclavorum*, but from the east – this significant detail indicates a tendency in the description of the barbarians, and in this interpretation "the north" and "the east" could well be, as we shall see, synonymous. The characteristics of the Goths in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* corresponded to the phrase "gens ferox et indomita" from *Regnum Sclavorum* – the author of the Slavic text described them with the words: "ljudi tvrdi i golemo ljuti prez zakona kako divji" (Tough and very fierce people, lawless and wild).[116]

2. Both versions present stages of the Gothic conquest in a slightly different way. As it is stated in the Croatian version, before the Goths appeared in Dalmatia: "najprvo pridosta na kraljestvo ugarsko i kralja pobiše i obujaše kraljestvo. I potom toga pojdoše naprida i pojdoše u Trnovinu" (First they attacked the Hungarian kingdom, and beat the king, and took over the kingdom. After that they moved forward and came to Trnovina).[117] In *Regnum Sclavorum* the author mentions in this fragment, respectively, Pannonia and Templana. In the first case, the author of the Croatian version updated the ancient name of the land with the current political one – "the Hungarian kingdom". It was an obvious anachronism, inconsistent with the further course of the narrative in which the Hungarians were to appear much later. It is also worth noting that, according to this version, before the attack on Dalmatia, Totila was somewhat in the position of being the ruler of Hungary. The meaning of both "Trnovina" and "Templana" remains unclear. Šišić attempted, by analogy with Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle, to correct Templana to Teutonia, but such a supposition seems too wishful. We also do not know whether the difference between Trnovina and Templana was just a result of a spelling mistake by a scribe, or whether the change was associated with some semantic shift.[118]

116 *Ljetopis*, p. 38.

117 *Ljetopis*, p. 40.

118 "Tarnovia" in the translation by Marulic. It is possible that the name Trnovina may be linked with the shorter redaction of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*, mentioning "aples tyrancie" on the route of the march of Aquila-Attila. The relations between the Croatian text of *The Chronicle* and *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* mentioned above are discussed

In both versions, Salona was an important stage on the route of the conquest of the Goths.[119] In *Regnum Sclavorum*, the country was ruled by the king of the Dalmatians, so Salona was the capital of the kingdom invaded by the Goths. The Croatian version also states "kralj dalmatinski [...] pribivaše u čudnom i velikom gradu Solinu" (the Dalmatian king ... stayed in the magnificent and great city of Solin).

However, it is worth looking at the future of the city. In *Regnum Sclavorum*, the defeated king of the Dalmatians "evasit autem cum valde paucis militibus et aufugit in civitatem suam Salonam"[120] (with a handful of warriors fled to his city of Salona) – this was the last mention of the city in the context of the Goth invasion. The narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* says nothing more about the further fate of the wounded king of Dalmatia, although it would seem to be an important piece of information. Otherwise, in the Croatian version, we read that "kralj Dalmacije s malo vitezi smrtnom ranom ranjen ubiže i bi prenešen u slavni i čudni grad Solin, u kom gradu bi za veće dan općeni plač i tuga neizrečena" (the king of Dalmatia, mortally wounded, escaped with a group of knights and he was taken to the famous and beautiful city of Solin, in which wailing and unspeakable sadness lasted many days).[121] The author of the Croatian text thus concluded the case of the king of Dalmatians, and also described the fate of the city a bit further, for "i bogati, i lipi Solin" [beautiful and rich Solin] was captured and destroyed by Stroil,[122] as were Dalma, Narun, Skardon and many other famous cities in Dalmatia.

An interesting piece of information was included in the translation of the Croatian version made by Marulić in which Bladin was described as: "Salonarum rex" [the king of Salona]. This could be another example of the fact that the author of the Croatian version attributed a greater role to the city. However, we do not have the Papalić manuscript, hence it is difficult to judge whether the passage was an interpolation by the translator.[123]

As far as such details are concerned, the Croatian version is probably closer to the original shape of the narrative than *Regnum Sclavorum*. Also,

---

in the excursus. See also: Wawrzyniec Kowalski, "Wielkie zło i herezje Eutychesa. Wokół wątku podboju Dalmacji w Latopisie popa Duklanina," *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 25 (2018), pp. 53–67.

119 Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 333–335.

120 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

121 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

122 The counterpart of Ostroyllus in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

123 *Regvm Dalmatię atque Croatie gesta*, p. 38; see: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 106.

the almost formulaic epithet – “i bogati, i lipi” – which always accompanied Salona may raise the suspicion that the author used an oral tradition in which a “rich and beautiful” city played an important role.

3. As we have seen, even the first mention of the Slavs in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* arouses controversy. The Slavs were equated with the Goths, and both words seem – at least in this passage – to mean the same: barbarian pagans. The general tendency of the Croatian version is to replace the term “Slav” with the word “Croat”. Also, in the passage devoted to the Goths, we read about the Croats instead of the Slavs. Interestingly, the controversial phrase “Gothi qui et Sclavi” did not appear in the Old-Croatian text. Croats appear in it for the first time when it comes to the battle between the Goths and the kings of Istria and Dalmatia. The sentence concerning the losses suffered by the Christian side, which in *Regnum Sclavorum* was “ceciditque pars christianorum et interfectus est rex Istriae et multa milia hominum christianorum in ore gladii mortua sunt et plurima captiva ducta sunt” (and some Christians were killed and the king of Istria was killed and many thousands of Christians were killed by the sword and many were abducted in captivity), in the Croatian narrative would correspond to the sentence: “i prez izma bi pobijena strana krstjanska i ubijen bi kralj istrinski i mnogo tisuć krstjani po dobitju bi pod mač obraćeno i vele Hrvat bi pobijeno” (and because of this the Christian side was beaten and the Istrian king was killed and many thousands of Christians fell under the sword and many Croats were killed).[124] With the exception of the ending, both statements are a fairly faithful translation. The expression: “vele Hrvat” could be used here to emphasize the losses on the part of the pagans as a replacement for the word “Goths”, but it seems that the author of this version placed the Croats on the side of the defeated Christians.

Such a supposition could be confirmed by a passage concerning King Selimir (Silimir in the H. redaction). In the Latin text, we read that after reaching agreement with the Christians, Selimir “replevit [terram] multitudine Sclavorum” (settled [the land] with lots of Slavs).[125] In the Croatian text, Selimir’s activity was described as: “I vele krstjane ljubljaše i ne dadiše progoniti jih. I naredis njimi, da mu budu davati dohodak. I tako opet napuni zemlju hrvatsku” (And he loved Christians very much and did not let them be banished. And he ordered them to pay him tribute. And thus they filled the Croatian land again).[126] In this case

124 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.
125 *Ljetopis*, p. 44.
126 *Ljetopis*, p. 44.

the Slavs from the Latin version would correspond to the Christians. The narrative of the Croatian version would therefore be more consistent. The author of the Latin text did not explain the relationship between the appearance of the Slavs and making the peace agreement with the Christians. These two successive events seem separate. In the Croatian version, the repopulation of "zemlja hrvatska" [Croatian land] is the result of the agreement with the Christians. The author of the Croatian version did not use the word "Croat" but only the adjective "Croatian" (here in the geographical sense), but it could indirectly confirm our earlier assumption that in this text the Croats are the Christians, and they did not become identical with the Goths (although they inhabited the lands conquered by them) as it happened in the Latin narrative.[127]

The result of this state of affairs would be the different treatment of Gothic kings in particular versions. This is evidenced by the moment of transition of the Gothic dynasty to the lineage of the Slavic (Croatian) kings, which in both cases happened in the period after the death of the nameless kings, and before Svetopelek (in the Croatian version: Budimir) came to the throne. The author of the Latin version emphasized the continuity of the dynasty from its Gothic origins. This is how he described the enthronement of four nameless rulers: "Defuncto etiam Ratimiro, ex eius progenie regnaverunt pos eum quatuor iniqui reges" (After the death of Ratimir, there were four evil kings from his family), and then, when Svetimir followed them, the chronicler emphasized that he "natus est ex eorum progenie"[128] (was born from their family). The Croatian text presented this affinity slightly differently. First we read: "I umre Ratimir i ne ostavi sina na njegovu misti. I stavi se jedan od njegova kolina. I on umrše, ne biše veće kralji togaj kolina"[129] (And Ratimir died and did not leave a son for his place. And another man of his family appeared. And he died and there were no more kings from this family) – the royal lineage was therefore broken, and Satimir (Svetimir in the V. redaction), Budimir's father (Svetopelek in the V. redaction), did not belong, in the Croatian variant, to the family of Stroil (Ostroyllus in the V. redaction). In this version, the four evil kings were grouped in two pairs: "I po ovih dviju, jedan za druzim, druga dva kraljevaše, i ne mnogo lit življaše [...]

127 Moreover, the Croatian text of *the Chronicle* also reads that the arriving Bulgarians maintained a strong faith and so they left the Latins in peace. Then when the similarity between the Bulgarians and Bladin's subjects was mentioned, the anonymous author of this variant wrote that they were of one faith and one language: *Ljetopis*, pp. 45–46.

128 *Ljetopis*, p. 47.

129 A little below we read: "Ki obaj nemilostivo krstjane progonjahu" – that is why Mošin adds here in square brackets: "[a potom drugi]": *Ljetopis*, p. 47.

I pomanjkavaše ti rečeni i nepravdeni kralji, osta sin jednoga, ki bi napokonji, komu biše ime Satimir" (After these two, one by one, the other two reigned, and they did not live many years … and these unjust kings, mentioned above, died, survived by the son of one of the deceased [kings] who was called Satimir).[130] The author of the Croatian version continued, clearly highlighting the breakthrough that occurred in the question of succession in the crisis period of the rule of four unnamed evil kings.

Živković searched for the equivalents of "quatuor iniqui reges" in the Book of Genesis.[131] The context of the appearance of the phrase "quatour reges adversus quinque"[132] was, however, completely different, so this similarity can be with some certainty regarded as accidental. We do not know, however, to what extent the Croatian version contains passages carrying a certain corruption of the text (which at times became quite unclear), and to what extent the author, as we suppose, deliberately decided to separate the kings of the Goths from successive rulers of the kingdom described by him.

4. The author of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* seems to have a slightly different attitude to the two Goth chieftains Totila and Stroil. The author of the Latin version presented both of them as dangerous warriors successful in battle, but the Croatian version offered more complete characteristics of these figures. It should be noted that the very style of the narrative of the Croatian version was distinguished by an excess of epithets (as, for example, the abovementioned phrase "lipi/bogati Solin") and this probably contributed to describing the fights that Totila led with the Latins as "čudne i tvrde rvanje" (great and hard struggles). The author of the Croatian version also writes that Totila passed through Istria and Aquileia "kao munja",[133] i.e. like a thunderbolt.

In the Latin text, we read that Ostroil, who "vir forti animo erat" [was a man of strong spirit], did not escape the imperial army but confronted the emperor and was killed in the battle. As in the case of Totila, the fragment devoted to Stroil was developed by the author of the Croatian version: "jere biše slavna srca i tilom jaki i ognjen junak. Ki nere kako srdit lav noseće se i bi od veće ran obranjen, ke ne hajuće, dà, od krvi ostavljen a od ran sprežen, pase s konja uteć nemoguće; i dospiše ubiti ga" (He had a brave heart and strong body and passionate prowess. He behaved like an

130 *Ljetopis*, p. 47.
131 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 123.
132 Genesis 14:9.
133 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

angry lion and was hurt many times, but he did not care, and so because of the loss of blood and wounds he fell from the horse, he could not escape and they managed to kill him).[134] By comparison to the lion, the anonymous author clearly wanted to emphasize the bravery of the chieftain, as well as to give his death a certain dramatic feature associated with a knight's attitude (a fall from a horse).[135] According to Živković, the Priest of Duklja abandoned this idea, because he decided to associate the Goths with the heretic Anastasius.[136] Živković speculated that the original text did not include the motif of heresy, as is indicated by the Croatian version (as has already been stated, according to this concept the emperor mentioned in the text was Justinian). Živković claimed that the author of both versions was one person. According to him, the Old-Croatian narrative was the older of the two, although it was supposedly a translation of another (now lost) Latin chronicle written by the same author in his youth and later expanded by him. The entire hypothesis sounds neither convincing nor it is confirmed by the available copies of various versions of *The Chronicle*. Even if we ignore the complex issue of the chronology of these versions, changes found in them sometimes indicate different interpretations of particular fragments by the translator of one of the texts. The same observations regarding a different image of Ostroyllus/ Stroil in both texts, however, seem to be accurate. In the Croatian version the description of the death of the chieftain gained a certain heroic tinge that was absent in *Regnum Sclavorum*. However, it did not cause an altered perception of the next rulers of the Goths. Both texts treated them in a similar way, and evaluation of their rule was based on their attitude towards the Christian population in the areas under their control.

It is puzzling that in both versions it was emphasized that before making the decision to continue their invasion to Italy, the barbarian chieftains were advised by their magnates. *Regnum Sclavorum* states that Totila and Ostroil "consilio initio cum suis magnatibus diviserunt exercitum"

134 *Ljetopis*, p. 43.

135 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 96.

136 According to Papageorgiou the reference to Anastasius was not accidental, and should be attributed to hostility between the alleged patron of *The Chronicle*, Paul (Pavao) Šubić and the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, an ally of King Stefan Milutin of Serbia, the main opponent of Šubić in the region. See: Angeliki Papageorgiou, "The wake behind the mission of Cyril and Methodius: Byzantine echoes in the Chronicle of the Priest of Diokleia," in *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs, 28–30 November 2013* (Thessaloniki, 2015), p. 722; eadem, "The Byzantine Citizen in 'Gesta regum Sclavorum'," in *Niš i Vizantija XIV*, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš, 2016), p. 82.

(following the council with their magnates they split the army),[137] which would correspond to the sentence: [Totila and Stroil] "zazvaše barune i poglavice, i k tome se dogovoriše i svit vazeše, da bi se imile vojske razdiliti" (summoned the barons and commanders, and decided and agreed that they would split the army).[138] A joint council with the magnates and the chieftains' desire to get to know their opinions is a motive present in other parts of *The Chronicle*. Those who are able to listen to the opinions of their advisers are presented in the text as prudent rulers.

9 The Goths and Their Organization of Power in *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas the Archdeacon: the Meaning of the Words "Goths", "Slavs", "Croats" and the Way of Organizing Power

The Goths appear in Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle in a broader context related to the history of the fall of Salona. Under Totila – the chieftain whose name is also known from *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* – they "left the regions of Teutonia [Germany] and Poland",[139] and after arriving in Dalmatia destroyed the entire region, and partially ruined Salona and parts of the palace of the Emperor Diocletian.

Thomas the Archdeacon gives a short description of the Goths: they are ruled by seven or eight noble families from Teutonia and Poland. As mentioned above, the chronicler named these noble groups "Lingons". There is no agreement among scholars on the meaning and origins of this name. It first appears in *Bellum civile* by Marcus Annaeus Lucanus, and it was initially suggested that Thomas used this ancient term in his chronicle primarily under the influence of the Roman poet. However, the inadequacy of both meanings is a problem, for Lucan mentioned the Lingons in the area of Gaul.[140] Another hypothesis is that the source of this name might be *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* by Adam of Bremen, who mentioned the existence of a Slav tribe named Lingons living east of the Elbe river, or *Chronica Sclavorum* by Helmold, who repeated this information after Adam.[141] Mirjana Matijević

137 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

138 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

139 "de partibus Teutonie et Polonie exierunt", *Historia Salonitana*, p. 34.

140 M. Annaeus Lucanus, *The Civil War* (*Pharsalia*), 1: 397, ed. Thomas Ethelbert Page et al. (London/Cambridge, 1962), p. 32.

141 *M Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, book 2, chapter 18, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg, MGH SS vol. 7 (Hannover, 1848), p. 311; *Helmoldi presbyteri chronica Slavorum*, book 1, chapter 37, ed. Johann Martin Lapenberg, MGH SS vol. 21 (Hannover, 1869), p. 40.

Sokol[142] saw the source of the information included in Thomas' chronicle in Helmold's work. On the other hand, Lesław Spychała has recently proposed a return to the interpretation known in the older historiography, associating the medieval form of the name given to the Poles by Hungarians, *lengyen/lengyel*, probably also known in Dalmatia: "The name of Lingons appearing in the works of ancient poets was, by all accounts, associated with the exonym for Poles used by Hungarians, or by inhabitants of Dalmatia when it was ruled by the Árpáds, which is in accordance with what Thomas himself wrote about the sources of his information, namely that they also included various opinions, views and ideas".[143] A similar hypothesis was expressed even earlier by Olga Anatolevna Akimova.[144] To confirm her idea, she referred to a fragment of a fourteenth-century work by Michal Madius de Barbasanis (Croatian: Miha Madijev, a chronicler from Split who certainly knew *Historia Salonitana*) in which Totila was called the duke of Poles (*dux Polonorum*).[145]

According to Thomas the Archdeacon, the structure of power among the Goths looks to be as follows: There is a *dux*, Totila, and they are *nobile*, called Lingons. The barbarians appeared in the region of Salona during a less prosperous time for the city. As Thomas wrote, even before the invasion, "Salona urbs propter barbarorum vicinitatem, qui eam cotidianis insultibus impugnabant, ad deteriora labi cotidie cogebatur" (The city of Salona was subject to daily attacks on account of the proximity of the barbarians, and every day its situation worsened inexorably).[146] The city itself was full of sin and debauchery, corruption, thievery and vice. *Historia Salonitana* described these circumstances so in such detail that there is no doubt that they caused the destruction of Salona, just like the sins of the Christians caused the defeat of the kings of Istria and Dalmatians in the clash with Totila and Ostroil in the narrative of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.

Thomas, however, was not sure of identity of the barbarians who destroyed the city. He mentioned that the Goths of Totila partially destroyed Salona,

---

142 Mirjana Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo* (Split, 2002), p. 235.

143 Lesław Spychała, "'Lingones' Tomasza ze Splitu. Węgierska nazwa Polaków (lengyen/lengyel) czy jej południowosłowiański odpowiednik (Lenđel [Lenđen])?," in *Z badań nad historią Śląska i Europy w wiekach średnich*, ed. Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik (Wrocław, 2013), p. 213.

144 See footnote 59 in the edition: Foma Splitskij, *Istorija arhiepiskopov Salony i Splita* [Фома Сплитский, *История архиепископов Салоны и Сплита*], trans. and ed. Olga Anatolevna Akimova (Moscow, 1997), p. 160.

145 *Incipit Historia edita per Micam Madii de Barbazanis de Spaleto de gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum pars secundae partis de anno Domini MCCXC*, ed. Vitaliano Brunelli, Archivio storico per la Dalmazia 1 (1926), fasc. 4, p. 43.

146 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 32. [All excerpts of *Historia Salonitana* translated by Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol and James Ross Sweeney.]

"antequam arma inferret Ytalie" (before making war in Italy).[147] However, before the author of *Historia Salonitana* went on to describe the attack on the city, he introduced a digression into the text which undermines some earlier findings regarding the origin of the barbarians.

Thomas began his description of the land bordering the north with the statement: "Chroatia est regio montuosa" (Croatia is a mountainous country), followed by: "Hec regio atiquitus vocabatur Curetia et populi, qui nunc dicuntur Chroate, dicebantur Curetes vel Coribantes"[148] (In ancient times this region was called Curetia, and the people who are now called Croats were called Curetes or Corybantes). In this way, the Croats appeared in his text for the first time under the name of "Curetes". The author of *Historia Salonitana* described their unusual practices. The first description concerned the belligerence of the Croats; the second their customs, in particular their special rite of evading demons during the lunar eclipse. Thomas himself even strengthened the significance of his words when he described in detail the militant spirit of the Curetes, claiming that they were unafraid of death to such an extent that they attacked enemies without wearing armour.[149] Although the description of this people was framed by the chronicler with quotes from Lucanus and Virgil, it is difficult to suppose that he only reproduced stereotypes which were prevalent in ancient literature. He could have been referring to the real customs of the Croats, especially in the case of the ritual and war practices.[150]

The Curetes were mentioned by Thomas the Archdeacon in earlier parts of his work. Along with the Dalmatians and the Istrians, they were part of the army of Basilus and Octavius – two generals loyal to Pompeius during the civil war against Caesar. In both descriptions, they were an existing element: an old ethnic substrate on the inland areas, located further from the coast. Therefore,

147 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 36.

148 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 36.

149 A similar figure of unarmed warriors was used earlier by Procopius of Caesarea. The figure was frequently used as a commonplace, and also appeared e.g. in the works of Paul the Deacon, Saxo Grammaticus or Gallus Anonymus. On similar descriptions of methods of fighting of barbarians in medieval chronicles: Jacek Banaszkiewicz, "'Nadzy wojownicy' – o średniowiecznych pogłosach dawnego rytu wojskowego (Prokopiusz z Cezarei, Paweł Diakon, Girald z Walii, Sakso Gramaty i Gall Anonim)," in *Człowiek, sacrum, środowisko. Miejsca kultu we wczesnym średniowieczu. Spotkania Bytomskie IV*, ed. Sławomir Moździoch (Wrocław. 2000), pp. 7–26.

150 On the possible place where Thomas the Archdeacon could observe Croatian customs related to lunar eclipse: Krešimir Kužić, "Gdje je i kad Toma Arhiđakon doživio hrvatska vjerovanja vezana za pomrčinu mjeseca – doprinos interdisciplinarnoj metodi istraživanja," *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22 (2004), pp. 27–33.

it seems strange that at the end of the second extensive passage about the Curetes, the chronicler summed it up with the following words:

> Premixti ergo sunt populi isti et facti sunt gens una, vita moribusque consimiles, unius loquele. Ceperunt autem habere proprios duces. Et quamvis pravi essent et feroces, tamen Christiani erant, sed rudes valde. Ariana etiam errant tabe respersi. Gothi a pluribus dicebantur et nichilominus Sclavi, secundum proprietatem nominis eorum, qui Polonia seu Bohemia venerant.[151]
>
> (These peoples then intermingled and formed one nation, alike in life and customs and with one language. They also began to have their own chiefs. And although they were vicious and ferocious, they were also Christians, albeit extremely primitive ones. They had also been infected with the cancer of Arianism. Many called them Goths, but also Slavs, which was the name of those who had come from Poland or Bohemia).

This short fragment is characterized by some inconsistency. The Curetes – or, as Thomas the Archdeacon claimed, Croats – suddenly become identified with the Goths or the Slavs who came from the north. The chronicler linked them to the Arian heresy. For the author of *Historia Salonitana*, as we shall soon see, the bond between the Goths and heresy was very clear. The term *Sclavi* (the Slavs) appeared in a rather unclear context as the name of those who came from the lands of Poland and Bohemia. The Goths and Slavs have their chiefs (or dukes, *duces*). It can be assumed that Thomas consistently repeated information about the decentralization and numerous authority centres of the Goths – the same that he had already given when writing about the Lingons.

However, describing the siege and capture of the city of Salona by the Goths, the chronicler claimed they had one ruler. He wrote: "Igitur dux Gothus, qui toti preerat Sclavonie, coadunato magno exercitu equitum peditumque descendit de montibus et castra posuit ex orientali parte civitatis"[152] (So the Gothic duke who ruled over Sclavonia collected a great army of cavalry and infantry; then, descending from the mountains, he pitched camp on the eastern side of the city). As Spychała noted, the term *tota Sclavonia* in Thomas's time had not only geographic but also political significance – it was used to describe the lands of Croatia and Dalmatia or all territories south of the Drava.[153] We are not convinced

---

151 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 38.

152 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 38.

153 Spychała, "'Lingones' Tomasza ze Splitu," p. 201.

whether in this case the author of *Historia Salonitana* referred to this specific definition of Sclavonia or rather, drawing on the local tradition of conquests, he only emphasized the imaginary scope of the rule of the barbarian duke.

When Thomas the Archdeacon, in earlier parts of his work, described the arrival of the Goths from the north, their appearance in Dalmatia, devastation of the land, and the partial destruction of Salona, he could simply have developed one story (as is indirectly indicated by the word *igitur* in the beginning of the narrative), and he could also have joined two not completely homogeneous yet complementary images, those of the barbarian newcomers led by Totila, and of the savage inhabitants living nearby Salona. In this new story, the settled Goths did not come from the north, but came from the mountains, as is evidenced by the fact that their camp was, according to Thomas, on the inland eastern side of the city walls.

In the description of the situation inside Salona before the destruction of the city, the biblical topos of Sodom and Gomorrah was used, yet the invasion itself was presented with a somewhat different pattern. First, Thomas described the sin of the citizens of the city, and then he portrayed the Goths as a kind of plague. After the fall of the city, the inhabitants, like fugitives from the biblical flood, escaped by ship. The Goths, the Slavs, the Curetes were executors of the punishment. It would be most convenient to assume that the chronicler used the recurring theme of Attila as a savage conqueror. The issue of similarity of the motif of Attila and Totila was also discussed in the context of the Priest of Duklja's work. It seems, however, that both the author of *Historia Salonitana* and the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* used some local well-established tradition without realizing its possible sources.

In Thomas the Archdeacon's work, Attila performed a completely different function to Totila, the duke of the Goths. *Historia Salonitana* listed him among the ancestors of the Hungarians. As in the case of the Slavs, the chronicler used several different names to designate Hungarians. First he called them Massagets.[154] Before they came to Pannonia, they lived in a country called Mageria, and they were also known in the past as the Huns, hence their name *Hungari*.[155] The name of Mageria probably echoes the identification of the East with the lands of Gog and Magog common in medieval chronicles. In contrast to Isidore of Seville, Thomas did not associate the name of the Massagets either with the Getae[156] or – on the basis of a phonetic similarity – with the

154 More about this identification: Lesław Spychała, "Węgrzy jako *Pars aliqua gentis Massagetum*. Ślady późnoantycznej i wczesnośredniowiecznej uczoności w dziele Tomasza Archidiakona Splitu," *SAMAI* 5 (2020), pp. 155–195.

155 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 63.

156 *The Etymologies*, p. 195.

Goths. Therefore, Attila, the ruler of the Hungarians-Massagets, and Totila, the chieftain of the Goths, are separate figures for him.

Although the author of *Historia Salonitana* used the name "Getia", situating it in the area which in his times was known as Raška or Serbia and the city of Delmis, he did not specify whether in his opinion there was a connection between the Getae and the Slavs or Goths.[157] In fact, in his work Thomas mentioned Serbia only twice and did not pay much attention to it. However, elsewhere he pointed out that he considered Delmis to be a part of the region broadly understood as Sclavonia. It is possible, therefore, that the concept of the kinship of the Getae and the Goths – although not directly expressed – was marked here.

Thomas the Archdeacon saw the Goths, the Slavs and the Croats as an alien and dangerous element. It seems that the author of *Historia Salonitana* used these names synonymously. However, some contexts can be found in which the words "Goth", "Slav" and "Croat" are narrowed semantically.[158] In such situations, their rulers were also described slightly differently by the chronicler.

"The Slavs" was the name Thomas used most often. They were almost always described as a menace. They were savage and numerous. Very rarely did the chronicler describe them in a more specific and detailed manner. Besides the above-mentioned information that "Slavs" is the name of the Goths who came from Poland and Bohemia, he referred to the Slavs who, fearing the youth of Salona, stayed away from the coast.[159] The Goths and the Slavs are mentioned again a bit later as a threat to the partially rebuilt city. Interestingly, we learn from this passage that the rulers of these Goths and Slavs were subjects of the emperor in Constantinople. At the request of the inhabitants of Salona, the emperor even sent his men to forbid the dukes of the Goths and the Slavs from making further raids on the city: "Iussio etiam ad duces Gothorum et Sclavorum missa est districte precipens, ut nullam Salonitanis civibus in Spalato degentibus molestiam irrogarent" (And a command was sent to the chiefs [dukes] of the Goths and the Slavs, strictly forbidding them from troubling the citizens of Salona who were now living in Split).[160] In Thomas' narrative, the imperial intervention resulted in the establishment of relations between the Slavs

157 As was shown by Matijević Sokol, such identification of Getae and Goths had been used in Dalmatia since the second half of the fifteenth century. It was also used by the sixteenth-century humanists. Mirjana Matijević Sokol, "'Historia Salonitana' post Thomam – recepcija 'Salonitanske povijesti' od prvotiska," in *Humanitas et litterae ad honorem Franjo Šanjek*, eds. Lovorka Čoralić, Slavko Slišković (Zagreb, 2009), pp. 99–112.

158 Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, pp. 235–240.

159 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 44.

160 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 52.

and Salona.[161] These relations usually meant trade, and also even mutual marriages. The chronicler concluded this topic, ending the broader story of the attack on Salona with a description of the peaceful relationship between the inhabitants of the city and the Slavs-Goths.[162]

Although Thomas the Archdeacon did not make a clear statement on the nature of political divisions between the Slavs, he did write about *duces Sclavorum*, thus suggesting their political pluralism. In the case of the relic of St. Domnius, the chronicler first mentioned the Slavic menace, and later wrote that the Slavic leaders held the church of this saint in great veneration. Immediately afterwards, the dukes of the Goths and the Slavs are smoothly replaced by *duces Gothorum et Chroatorum*, when Thomas writes about their renouncement of the sin of Arian heresy.[163]

Fear of the Slavic mass, which had to be repeatedly tamed, and which disturbed the inhabitants of Split, was also evident in further parts of the work – for example, in an episode about Reles. The chronicler called him *dux Chrovatorum* and wrote that he was a powerful and belligerent man whose ambition was to take over the city.[164] At the same time Thomas mentioned that the inhabitants of Split did not want to accept the rule of the Slav.[165] Here the terms "Croats" and "Slav" were again used synonymously by the author of *Historia Salonitana*.

Most often, the Slavs were mentioned in Thomas the Archdeacon's work as groups outside the borders of the symbolic ecumene, in the wild mountains. For example, they attacked Archbishop Rainer traveling in the Mosor mountains and stoned him to death, encouraged by a local leader from the Kačic family.[166]

In many cases, Thomas did not mention any duke or local leaders, but treated the Slavs as a shapeless mass, an element of hostile armies that attempted to invade the city. He was relieved to mention the temporary cessation of their

161 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 52–53.

162 More on the image of inhabitants of Split in the work Thomas the Archdeacon: Tomislav Raukar, "Splitsko društvo u Salonitanskoj povijesti Tome Arhiđakona," in idem, *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku* (Split, 2007), pp. 215–244.

163 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 58.

164 Fine Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans*, pp. 87–88. Fine observed that in the case of Reles, the most appropriate translation seems to be "chieftain", "voivode". This work also contains more reflections on the relationship between the terms "Slav" and "Croat" in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon.

165 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 114.

166 "… ecce Nicolaus quidam cum fratribus et parentela sua, quia erant ex tenere Cacitorum …", *Historia Salonitana*, p. 124. The chronicler also describes the misfortune of an unnamed, "poor and simple priest" who, accused of debts by a certain Slav, was bound and handed over to him by a nobleman, named Kaceta, ibidem, p. 194.

raids: “Sclavi etiam, qui implacabiliter contra civitatem seviebant assiduis predationiubus laniantes eam, ad pacis Concordia reducti sunt” (Even the Slavs who were raging relentlessly against the city, rending it with their incessant plundering, were brought to concord and peace).[167] The Slavic menace was permanently present in Thomas’ work. He wrote about a large number of Hungarians and Slavs in the Venetian army attacking the city.[168] Another time he described “the army of the Hungarians, the Slavs and the Dalmatians”,[169] and he also noted “certain Slavs” had allied with Trogir against the inhabitants of Split. He mentioned “the army of the Hungarians, the Slavs and Cumans”[170] accompanying Queen Mary in her campaign against the city. The chronicler likewise referred to the Hungarians and the Slavs in the context of the masses fleeing the attack of the Tartars.[171] The multitude of warriors was replaced in this case by a multitude of refugees. Earlier, however, Thomas, in reference to the stereotypical description of the Slavs, reported that they suffered from the Tartars only to a small extent, because they hid in the forests and mountains.[172]

Both formulaic motives – the Slavs hiding in the mountains and the Slavs as militant aggressors, taking every opportunity to attack Split – were often used by the author of *Historia Salonitana*. They become particularly interesting when we try to recognize them in the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, in which this type of portrayal of the Slavs is almost absent. We say “almost”, because one exception is a narrative about the foundation of Ragusa: the Latins, fleeing into the mountains, were taken into captivity by the Slavs living there. An image of the militant barbarians can also be found in the description of the Goths and invasions of Totila and Ostroil, although it should be noted here that in the Priest of Duklja’s work, the Slavs become the Goths in situations where their savagery is not emphasized. Therefore, the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* used the topos of the savage Slavs only once when the kingdom *de facto* did not exist – during the interregnum period, after Radoslav’s exile and Časlav’s death. Even if, indeed, as scholars accept, this passage is either a type of gloss or was taken from some earlier source,[173] the use of the topos of the Slavs who were hostile to the Latins in this particular fragment emphasized the absence of supreme power and the uncertain political situation at a time when there was no king.

167 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 228.
168 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 316.
169 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 344.
170 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 370.
171 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 302.
172 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 294.
173 See chapter 5 of the present work.

Of equal interest are the circumstances in which Thomas the Archdeacon mentions the Croats. In several cases the "Croats" are exact equivalents of the "Slavs". However, there are some fragments where the meaning of both words is certainly different. In latter parts of the text, the author of *Historia Salonitana* actually described the Croats in contexts similar to the Slavs. He wrote about the alliance of the Hungarians with the Croats from the city of Knin and their attack on Salona.[174] He also wrote that the inhabitants of the city initially mistook the approaching Tartars for Croats – in this way the chronicler intended to emphasize the barbaric appearance of the latter.[175] Some Croats under the command of Tollen and Vilceta, the sons of Butc, probably local leaders, attacked Ostrog, and then defended themselves using the natural fortifications, throwing stones from the mountains at the inhabitants of Salona who were attacking them.[176] The interchangeable use of the names "Croats" and "Slavs" occurs in those contexts in which they agreed with the vision of barbarians adopted by Thomas – a people with an undefined structures of power, belonging to groups with ephemeral identification, and ruled by local chieftains or leaders. His work often assigns the Curetes, the Croats, the Goths and the Slavs to this category.

Thomas the Archdeacon, however, abandoned such an image of the Croats in a certain fragment, while describing their kingdom and presenting how it was taken by the kings of Hungary. The chronicler attributed the establishment of the kingdom to Držislav (Dirscisclavi) who ruled about 970, when Martin was the Archbishop of Salona, and Theodosius was the Byzantine Emperor.[177] Thomas noted that: "Ab isto Dirscisclavo ceteri successores eius reges Dalmatie et Chroatie appellati sunt" (All the successors of Držislav were called kings of Dalmatia and Croatia).[178] He also knew the names of two rulers before Držislav. The first of these was the Duke of Sclavonia, Branimir (this figure will be discussed below); the second was the duke (*dux*) Tomislav, who ruled about 914, mentioned by the author of *Historia Salonitana* but without defining the area of his reign. Thomas also claimed that the descendants of Držislav received the royal crown from Constantinople, and that they called themselves imperial "eparchs" or "patricians". He also described the boundaries of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, locating in it the aforementioned city of Delmis in the east, Carinthia in the west, stretching these borders from

174 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 312.

175 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 296.

176 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 190.

177 That is not confirmed by the real course of history. In 970 the Byzantine Empire was ruled by John (Iōánnēs) I Tzimiskes (969–976). The last emperor of this name Theodosius III (715–717) ruled over two hundred years earlier.

178 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 60.

the banks of the Danube to Dalmatia and referring to the principality of Hum (Zachlumia) as part of it.

In another part of the chronicle, Thomas presented other Croatian kings – Trpimir, Muncimir (though his royal title can be guessed only from context), and shortly afterwards also Krešmir, who was, according to the chronicle, a "patrician" of the emperor and the king of the Croats.[179] Thomas also described the efforts of the kings of the Croats to appoint a special bishop – "episcopum, qui Chrovatensis appellabantur" (the bishop who was known as the Bishop of Croatia).[180] Under the date 1060, he placed subsequent rulers, Stefan, Krešimir, and Zvonimir, whom he recognized as the last king of this family. After the takeover of Croatia by the king of Hungary, the chronicler only once mentioned the ruler of the Croats, Reles – in the case described above – whom he called the "duke of the Croats", recognizing him as a Slav. Therefore, it seems that the special treatment of Croats was mainly due to the existence of their kings and realm, later inherited by rulers of Hungary, much closer to Thomas. After describing the fall of the kingdom, Thomas returned to formulaic images of barbarian savagery of the Croats and their dispersion.

The end of the independent kingdom of the Croats had an impact by changing the perspective of the chronicler. In the chapter devoted to the takeover of Croatia and Dalmatia by the Hungarians, the tone of the narrative is reproachful, as it is in the earlier description of the capture of Salona by the Goths. Although the Hungarian kings Ladislaus and Coloman, the conqueror of Croatia, cannot be equated with the barbarian Goths, Thomas described Coloman using the phrase: "Hic, cum esset vir ferocis animi" ([He] who was a man of ferocious spirit).[181] The Goths also "essent pravi et feroces" (were vicious and ferocious). In this analogy, the kingdom of Croatia replaced Salona, fallen under the burden of its own sins. The chronicler, outlining the situation after the death of the last Croatian king, Zvonimir, indeed presented a similar vision of the inner fall of the state:

> Cepit itaque inter omnes regni proceres magna discordia suboriri. Et cum divisim modo hic modo ille regnandi ambitione sibi terre dominium vendicaret, innumerabiles rapine, predationes, cedes et omnium facinorum seminaria emerserunt. Alter enim alterum insequi, invadere, trucidare cotidie non cessabat.[182]

179 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 62.
180 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 68.
181 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 94 (translation amended).
182 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 92.

> (And so there came to be great conflict among all the nobles of the kingdom. And as first this one then that one with ambitions to be a king separately claimed lordship of the land, there arose countless acts of pillage, robbery and murder, and the breeding grounds of every crime. Day after day people attacked, hunted down and murdered each other without reprise).

In the fragment of narrative quoted above, the subject of the description by Thomas the Archdeacon is the Kingdom of Croatia, slightly earlier also called "The Kingdom of the Croats". It is significant that the chronicler – who was as can be seen usually ill-disposed towards the Croats – decided to write this fragment from the Croatian perspective. Writing about the kingdom, he even used the term "gentibus Chroatie" and he considered these *gentes* as a subject against which Ladislaus conducted his campaign. In other parts of the chronicle, apart from a brief and ambiguous mention of Reles, Thomas did not treat the Croats as a group possessing any form of organized system of power. He recognized their kingdom as long as it lasted, but after the death of the last king of the Croats, he no longer considered them as a political subject; according to him they returned to the sphere of barbaric indefiniteness.

Thomas never wrote anything similar about the Slavs, although he used the name Sclavonia referring to a separate territorial unit. Twice he used this name in reference to Slavonia, the land to the east of Croatia. This meaning appeared quite late in his work and only in a geographical context, when he described the ride of the Hungarian king. In earlier parts of the chronicle, the author of *Historia Salonitana* interpreted the name of "Sclavonia" in a much less unequivocal way, as in the example of the duke of the Goths ruling simply "the lands inhabited by the Slavs". Another piece of evidence for the broad understanding of Sclavonia can be found in the passage in which the chronicler wrote about the establishment of two dioceses in Sclavonia, in Sisak, and in Delmis, which he had previously situated in Raška.

It is even more difficult to determine the meaning of the term "Sclavonia" in the description of the collapse of the Kingdom of the Croats. The fall was reportedly caused when one of the magnates of Sclavonia ("magnatibus Sclavonie")[183] was in conflict with the others. It is often assumed that this is the first mention in which Thomas begins to narrow Sclavonia to Slavonia, situated on the border with Hungary, though there are actually no particular premises to such assumptions. King Ladislaus, when informing the abbot of the Monte Cassino monastery about his conquest of Sclavonia, could simply have meant

183 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 92.

the lands inhabited by the Slavs.[184] There is no need for external analogies, for such use of the name is evidenced by Thomas the Archdeacon himself.

Considering the issue of the occurrence of the name "Sclauonia" in written Greek and Latin sources, Tomislav Bali noted a change that took place in this respect in the thirteenth century.[185] Earlier, the term "Sclavonia" most often meant the various territorial units inhabited by the Slavs. Bali referred to the Ruthenian *sklavinii* present in the work by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, as well as to the separation of the entire Slavdom in the iconography associated with Otto III and in the description by Gallus Anonymus. He also drew attention to the functioning of the concept of *tota Sclauonia* in the work by Adam of Bremen, in which the locations of six suffragan dioceses of the archbishopric in Magdeburg were marked. In the context of references by Thomas the Archdeacon, a change in understanding of this term can be observed. Referring to the past, the chronicler seemed to use some older interpretations, perhaps those in which Sclavonia meant the area between the Adriatic coast and the Drava, whereas writing about contemporary times, in some cases he used the name Sclavonia (Slavonia) in a sense closer to the present one.[186]

The author of *Historia Salonitana* never mentioned any individual "duke of the Slavs", only attributing the title of dukes of Sclavonia to those who ruled in the area. Using this ambiguous term, he blurred the boundary of the described area, and – in other cases – obscured the identity of the community inhabiting it by referring to the rulers of the Slavs only in plural form. As we know, it was only exceptionally that he used the name *duces Sclavorum et Gothorum*,[187] once again pointing to the multiplicity of centres of power and diversity, avoiding a precise definition, combined with the wide scope of settlements and large population that Thomas attributed to the Slavs. There was no *gens Sclavorum*, and even in this respect Sclavonia was different to Croatia when the latter was the kingdom. The chronicler perhaps had no knowledge of the actual division of power among the Slavs. He mentioned the rulers of Sclavonia by name only once or twice (twice, if we assume that the already discussed *dux Gothus* is probably Totila). In this case, by using the term *toti preerat Sclavonie*, Thomas distinguished all of the areas as being part of this political or geographical territory, and did so quite rarely. He probably

184 Fine Jr., *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter*, p. 59.

185 Tomislav Bali, *Slavonski meandar. Prostor i pojam Slavonije u XIII. stoljeću* (Zagreb, 2014), pp. 29–46.

186 Bali, *Slavonski meandar*, p. 39; see also: Mladen Ančić, "Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoleća. Prilog poznavanju 'društvenog znanja' u Hrvatskom Kraljestvu," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 40 (2013), pp. 173–178.

187 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 52.

intended to point out the unity of the consolidated lands and to emphasize even further Totila's fame as a chieftain. An interesting phrase could also come from the tradition (well-known to the chronicler) according to which Totila had conquered vast territories not only in Croatia proper, but also in Dalmatia with Primorje.

The other passage in *Historia Salonitana* is more difficult to interpret. The duke ruling in Sclavonia is mentioned by name in this fragment. The year 840 is specified as the date of the events by the chronicler, and the name of the duke – Branimir – is given next to Marinus the Archbishop of Split, and a certain "King Charles", assumed to be Charles the Fat, the Carolingian Emperor and the King of West Francia. Branimir was the first in a list of rulers which ended with the kings of Dalmatia and Croatia, descendants of Držislav, but he himself had the title *dux Sclavonie*. As has already been mentioned, the chronicler listed Tomislav between Branimir and Držislav, also titled *dux*, but without specifying the area or community he ruled.

The genealogy given by Thomas the Archdeacon is not confirmed by the findings of historians. The chronicler probably confused the succession of the rulers, and hence titles such as *dux* or *rex* are assigned to them accidentally. All the rulers of Croatia listed by him belonged to one dynastic lineage – all except Branimir, who came to power, it is supposed, as a result of a coup d'état. Some scholars see him as the heir of the so-called Domagojević dynasty, but this is just one of many hypotheses.[188] There is no indication that Thomas knew these dependencies, and for that reason he considered Branimir to be the duke of Sclavonia, not the duke of the Croats.

The author of *Historia Salonitana* might have copied that title from an older source which had named Branimir in various ways. In *The Gospel of Cividale* – known also as *The Codex of Aquileia* – we read: *Branimiro comiti. Mariosa comitessa*. Branimir is also titled "comes" in letters by Pope John VIII. Epigraphic monuments also give evidence of a degree of liberty as far as the titles of this ruler are concerned. The inscription in the church in Šopot called Branimir "the prince of the Croats", and the inscription at the altar of St. Michael's church in Nin called Branimir *dux Sclavorum*; in addition, this title is repeated in the form *dux Clavitorum* on the fragments of the lintel in the St. Bartholomew's church in Ždrapanj.[189] The possibility cannot be excluded that Thomas the Archdeacon had seen one of these inscriptions. It is also assumed that he had the use of the collections in the diocesan archive and documents unknown today which

188 Stjepan Antoljak, *Pregled hrvatske povijesti*, 2nd edition (Split, 1994), p. 43 [extended edition of the first version, published in 1942].

189 See: Mirjana Matijević Sokol, Vlaimir Sokol, *Hrvatska i Nin u doba kneza Branimira*, 2nd edition (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 35–74.

concerned, among others, Branimir. In *Historia Salonitana*, Branimir is the only duke (besides Totila) ruling in Sclavonia known by name. Thomas linked the reign of Branimir with the origins of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia. The chronicler did not call him the ruler of "the whole of Sclavonia", perhaps because in his opinion the area of Sclavonia extended far beyond the borders of Branimir's state, even reaching the city of Delmis in Raška.[190]

There is one more semantic field which ought to be discussed, in which the names of the Slavs, the Croats and the Goths appear in Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle. It is associated with the heresy the chronicles called "Arianism". In fact, this name may encompass several different phenomena, all of them, however, negatively evaluated by the chronicler.

The reference to Arianism appeared in *Historia Salonitana* in the description of the barbarians who invaded Salona. The Goths – one of the names of the invaders – were indeed associated with this heresy from late antiquity. It seems, however, that in the description of the mission of the clergymen from Salona to the dukes of the Slavs (or to the dukes of the Goths and the Croats, as Thomas called them elsewhere), the character of Arianism is different: here the term presumably stands for the Slavic rite. We have already mentioned that in many places the words "Goth" and "Croat" were used as synonyms. Similarly, as in the case of the name of the Croats which at a certain moment was reserved by the chronicler to denote the citizens of the Croatian kingdom, the word "Goths" also gained a unique character when the chronicler discussed the so-called Arianism. It can be noted that just as the term "Slavs" appeared above all in situations related to the menace from the savage inland regions, the term "Goths" most often occurred in connection with heresy.

The author of *Historia Salonitana*, describing the Arianism of the conquerors of Salona, used his fairly general knowledge of the Goths. In a further part of his work, he used the term "Arianism" for the Slavic liturgy. Unlike the Priest of Duklja, who attributed the major role in the process of founding the Slavic Kingdom to Constantine (St. Cyril), Thomas was openly hostile to this rite. This issue is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. At present, we would like to draw attention to the fact that the term *regnum Sclavonicum*[191] – resembling "the Kingdom of the Slavs" in the work by the Priest of Duklja – is used only one time in *Historia Salonitana*, precisely in the context of heresy.[192]

---

190 Although, as we will see in the next chapter, it does not mean that Thomas the Archdeacon really had a precise idea of the location of Delmis.

191 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 80–81.

192 This aspect of identifying the Slavs/Croats with the Goths was noticed by Šegvić, "Hrvat, Got i Slav u djelu Tome Splićanina," pp. 18–25.

In Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative, *regnum Sclavonicum*, beyond superficial similarity, does not have much in common with the vision of history presented in the Latin version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. Thomas mentions no king who might reign in this *regnum*, yet he mentions the Goths. Thomas, who was against celebrating the liturgy in languages other than Greek and Latin, wrote about *lingua Sclavonica*,[193] in which Methodius (considered by him a heretic) began to teach using the Gothic alphabet. When the Slavic language and the Gothic alphabet were abandoned by the papal order, "omnes sacerdotes Sclavorum magno sunt merore confecti" (all the priests of the Slavs were filled with great sadness).[194]

As we read in *Historia Salonitana*, Ulfus, a clergyman and a foreigner, appeared in Croatia at that time. He was sent to Rome together with the Croatian deputies with the mission of restoring the Slavic liturgy. The chronicler described these efforts in a pejorative way. According to him, Ulfus was a cunning man who wanted to gain personal profits from the entire case. The pope, after hearing his request, did not consent to the return to the Gothic alphabet, justifying his decision with the following words: "Scitote, filii, quia hec, que petere Gothi student, sepenumero audisse me recolo, sed propter Arrianos, inventores litterature huiusmodi, dare eis licentiam in sua lingua tractare divina, sicut predecessores mei, sic et ego nullatenus audio"[195] (Understand, my sons, that what the Goths ardently seek, I recall having heard often, but because the inventors of such writing were Arians, I, like my predecessors, would not venture to give them permission to treat a divine thing in their own language). In this passage, the difference between the contemporary and the old Arians – and thus between the new and the old Goths – is marked.[196] Thomas the Archdeacon, referring to the words of the pope, stressed at the same time that the followers of the Slavic rite were the heirs of the famous Arian heresy. This is also explicitly stated in the description of the death of the Slavic bishop Cededa, who died when he suddenly experienced acute pain while relieving himself: "Et sic homo impius Arrianam imitatus perfidiam, iusto Dei iudico ignominiosa Arrii morte dampnatus est" (And thus this impious man, the follower of Arian faithlessness, was condemned by the just God to the same ignominious death as Arius).[197]

193 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 78.
194 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 78.
195 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 82.
196 Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, pp. 144–148.
197 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 86.

Thomas tried to ridicule the participants of the mission as much as possible. The Goths/Croats appointed two companions to travel with Ulfus – the aforementioned Bishop Cededa, who was an old simpleton, and abbot Potepa. The chronicler mocked their ignorance of Latin. Both clergymen felt alienated in Rome for this reason. Ulfus had to speak on their behalf, and at the end he deceived them by telling them that the pope had agreed that the traditional liturgy could be continued. In the conversation with the pope, Ulfus named Cededa *nobilissimus Gothorum vir*, which was contradicted by the bishop's appearance (the pope asked him why he had not shaved his beard according to the custom of the Catholic Church), and by his inability to speak for himself in Latin.

It was in this context that the chronicler used the term *regnum Sclavonicum*, meaning the area threatened by the Slavic heresy. In another part of the chronicle, Thomas the Archdeacon also wrote that Cededa, deluded by Ulfus' assurances, caused a scandal *in toto regno*, when he began to organize on his own what he thought to be the papal order. It seems that the chronicler meant here *regnum Dalmatie et Chroatie*. Thomas wrote about this kingdom earlier, in the introduction to the events described above: "Temporibus domni Laurentii archiepiscopi quedam execrandi scismatis fuit suborta contentio in Dalmatie et Chroatie regno" (In the time of Archbishop Laurentius there was a controversy in the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia arising from an accursed schism).[198] In another place, the chronicler referred to the mission against the heretics and "partibus Sclavonie".[199] In this case, it can be said that the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia is actually a synonym for Sclavonia, or even for *regnum Sclavonicum*; however, we should not ignore the fact that such a juxtaposition appeared in Thomas' narrative only where he referred to the territories controlled by heresy or schism.

The meaning of the name "Goths" changes over the course of the narrative. They can be either savage conquerors led by a duke or dukes, or (at a time more contemporary to that of the chronicler, when the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia was established) followers of the Slavic rite, thus – as Thomas believed – the successors of the Arians who had conquered Salona. Their attributes, to some extent, remain the same. As the Goths-warriors were barbarians and opponents of the Latin world, so the Goths-Arians remained, in some sense, separated from the Latin centres by a linguistic and cultural barrier.

198 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 76.
199 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 84.

10 The Goths and Their Rulers in the Dalmatian Tradition

A comparison of the narrative by Thomas the Archdeacon in *Historia Salonitana* with the text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, above all with its Latin version, can demonstrate the process of using the older tradition of Goths and the fall of Latin Salona in two completely different ways.

Both authors used, to some extent, a stereotypical image to describe the barbarians and their rulers. In the context of the Priest of Duklja's narrative, it is the image of the victorious Gothic leaders, the motive of "the scourge of God" with regard to their conquests, and above all the vision of the arrival of "savage and untamed" barbarians inhabiting *a septentrionali plaga*.

This way of writing about barbarians was the legacy of the antiquity. The Goths, from the time of St. Jerome, identified with Getae, were also often associated with the biblical country Magog and its ruler Gog, with the lands described in The Book of Ezekiel and usually located in the north.[200] Equally often, medieval authors would give names known from ancient books to peoples from beyond Christendom. Both the Priest of Duklja and Thomas the Archdeacon identified the Goths with the Slavs. The Priest of Duklja was probably the source for Andrea Dandolo, who in the first half of the fourteenth century wrote: "Erant enim Sclavi adhuc Gentiles – quia à Gothis origines traxerant" (Slavs were, until recently, pagans who were descended from the Goths).[201] Traces of such an identification are absent in the work of Adam of Bremen, who – according to some hypotheses – might be the source for Thomas' chronicle. Adam of Bremen seemed to understand that the Goths, the Getae and the Scythians were one and the same people, but nowhere were these names used while referring to the Slavs. It is impossible to find any similarly strong links between the Slavs and the Goths in the Middle Ages beyond Dalmatia, except for the enigmatic tombstone of Bolesław the Brave.

In Dalmatia, such a close bond between both ethnonyms could be the result of ancient records about the journey of the Goths being contaminated by the local legend of the arrival of the Slavs from the north. According to Jordanes, the settlements of the Goths were indeed located in the north-east, and this image of their original location was accepted by literature from the Early Middle Ages and the High Middle Ages[202] and could have been known to both

200 David Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellung und Fremdheitskategorien bei Ribert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bossau* (Berlin, 2005), pp. 311–317.

201 *Andreae Danduli ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 148. See: Živković, "O prvim poglavljama," p. 28.

202 Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, p. 50.

Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja. The former claimed that the Goths lived in Poland and Teutonia, and the latter mentioned the enigmatic site called "Templana" (the author of the Croatian version wrote about Trnovina), which – after Šišić – was identified as Teutonia.[203] It is almost certain that the Priest of Duklja had not read either Isidore of Seville or Jordanes, as is evidenced by his poor knowledge of the Goths. *Historia Salonitana* could be a possible source for the author of *The Chronicle*. It seems, however, that the fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum* devoted to the Goths indicates the use of knowledge acquired by the author in an education process, and a reference to general ideas about barbarians prevalent in Dalmatia and Croatia in the Middle Ages, rather than direct inspiration from another written source.

The Goths were probably included in the legend of the migration of the Slavs – a tale still vivid in the Middle Ages – itself presumably an updated variant of the legend of the arrival of the Croats recorded by Constantine Porphyrogennetos. In *Regnum Sclavorum*, the image of Gothic chieftains took on a "cabinet" form, changed on the basis of the concept of savage and unknown peripheries attacking the Christian centre. This may be confirmed by the liberty with which the northern direction of the Urheimat of the Goths was changed into the eastern direction in the Croatian version. According to David Freasdorff, "the north" and "the east" were in many situations interchangeable terms, and would simply refer to an unknown area inhabited by the pagans. The notion of Sclavonia, present in Thomas the Archdeacon's work, meant certain Slavic state organisms on the Adriatic coast, but it could also be related to the broader context of an unspecified Slavic mass and provide further evidence of the aversion of "Thomas the Latin" to the Croats and the Hungarians, as was formulated by Izidor Kršnjavi.[204]

According to Fraesdorff, the term Sclavonia was used by German authors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries to describe the various tribes of Northern Slavs inhabiting the territory between Bavaria, Hungary and Byzantium. Fraesdorff emphasized the fact that Hungary was outside the borders of Sclavonia.[205] It seems that the author of *Historia Salonitana* accepted a similar view.

---

203 This identification should only be considered as a hypothetical proposition, and not an attempt to correct the source text, as Šišić did.

204 Izidor Kršnjavi, "Prilozi Historiji salonitani Tome arcidjakona Spljetskoga," *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arkiva* 2 (Zagreb, 1900), p. 147.

205 In the thirteenth-century *Polish–Hungarian Chronicle* the term "Sclavonia" in several places probably referred to Pannonia. See: Ryszard Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Z dziejów polsko-węgierskich kontaktów kulturalnych w średniowieczu* (Poznań, 1999), p. 49.

It is difficult to suppose that the legend of Attila could be consciously transformed by Thomas the Archdeacon or the Priest of Duklja into the story of the Gothic-Slavic Totila. The fact that a similar process could have taken place much earlier seems to be indicated indirectly by the passage in the thirteenth-century *Polish–Hungarian Chronicle* concerning the conquest of Slavonia [Sclavonia] by Attila, named there as the king of Hungarians.[206] Carlile Aylmer Macartney drew attention to the similarities between the description of the invasion of Attila in that work and the fragment devoted to the raid of the Goths in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. He even believed that the anonymous author of *The Polish–Hungarian Chronicle* could have been inspired by the same tradition known to *Regnum Sclavorum*.[207] In the last chapter of this book I will show that the story of the conquest of Dalmatia has much in common with the story of taking over the Croatian kings' heritage by Hungary, and even with the early history of Hungarian-Slavic relations in general. Nevertheless, if such narrative-creating processes had occurred, they would have happened so long ago that neither Thomas nor the Priest of Duklja saw any clear similarity between the history of Totila and Attila.

Interestingly, in Fraesdorff's opinion, Bohemia was also outside the commonly accepted borders of Sclavonia.[208] However, the perspective of the author of *Historia Salonitana* was probably different, as he listed several northern territories – Teutonia, Poland and Bohemia – as the Urheimat of the Goths. Thomas' narrative did not explain the reason behind the wanderings of Totila and did not state whether he had ruled over the Urheimat before he set out. In *Historia Salonitana*, the title of "the duke of Sclavonia" was mentioned in the context of (probably) Totila only in relation to his territories situated on the Adriatic coast. The remarks by the Priest of Duklja concerning the original seats of the Goths are vague: he wrote about some northern (or, in the Croatian version, the eastern) kingdom, without specifying further details about its location.

For Thomas the Archdeacon, the identification of the Slavs and Goths was strengthened by the recognition of heretics in both groups. Thomas devoted much of his narrative to the matters of Slavic liturgy, which he regarded as the continuation of the heresy of Arius. This was a typical attitude in the Catholic clerical circles of Dalmatia, and the nomenclature which resulted from such

---

206 *Żywot św. Stefana króla Węgier, czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska*, trans. and ed. Ryszard Grzesik (Warsaw, 2003), pp. 59–60.

207 Carlile Aylmer Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian historians. A Critical and Analytical Guide* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 177–178.

208 Fraesdorff, *Der barbarische Norden*, p. 90.

views is found in official documents referring to the presence of the Glagolitic script and the Slavic rite in the Church.[209] The issue of the burdensome heritage is somewhat reminiscent of the discussion in other areas of Europe, where the tradition associated with Gothic origin was alive. Lucas de Tuy (Lucas Tudensis), a thirteenth-century Leonese historian, similarly justified the ban on the use of the gothic script in the Christian part of the Iberian Peninsula – stating the Gothic origins of this script and arguing that it maintained unnecessarily the division among the clergy.[210]

The Priest of Duklja took a different approach. In his narrative, the Goths were pagans, but not heretics. The issue of heresy was present in *Regnum Sclavorum*, but with the focus shifted to completely different aspects. In the work by Thomas the Archdeacon, Salona was punished for the misdeeds and lawlessness that prevailed in the city, and Totila was an embodiment of this punishment. Also, in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, the Goth chieftains were a kind of scourge of God, but in this narrative, the sins of the Christians were not discussed in detail and remained as speculation. Only the reference to Emperor Anastasius allows us to suppose what the character of the offence might be, but in this narrative the Christians are stained with apostasy, and the Goths are free from such accusations.

The theme of Christian guilt was a part of the narrative that formed the basis of a later tradition of "Gothomania", and it became closely related to the motif of the fall of Salona. This motif was known to Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who – probably using reports from the region of Split[211] – prepared two descriptions of the conquest of the city by the Avars and their Slavic allies. He emphasized the importance of Salona as the capital of Dalmatia. He also mentioned the escape of the inhabitants of Salona to the area of the Palace of Diocletian, which lead to the founding of the city of Split.[212]

209 Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, pp. 144–146.

210 *Lvcae Tvdensis Chronicon Mvndi*, ed. Emma Falque (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 114, 137, 156–157. When writing about the Arianism of the Goths on two occasions he mentioned the script as an important element of the heresy: "Sed Athanaricus Fridigenum Valentis auxilio superat. Hic ex catholico cum tota gente Gotorum Arrianus effectus est. Tunc Gulfila eorum episcopus Goticas litteras eis repperit et utrumque testamentum in linguam propiam transulit", p. 114; "Tunc Gulfilas eorum Gotorum episcopus Goticas litteras condidit et Scripturas Noui et Veteris Testamenti in eadem linguam conuertit. Goti autem, statim ut litteras et legem habere ceperunt, construxerunt sibi dogmatis sui ecclesias …", p. 137. See: Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, pp. 155–56.

211 John Bagnell Bury, "The Treatise De administrando imperio," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 15 (1906), p. 556.

212 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 29, pp. 123–125.

The guilt of the Christians was emphasized so heavily in *Historia Salonitana* that Nenad Ivić perceived Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative about the fall of Salona as a rhetorical device and the manifestation of a composition typical of medieval chroniclers. Ivić, who linked information about sin among the inhabitants of the city with the biblical story of Sodom and Gomorrah, considered the narrative by Thomas as a typical "erudite fairy tale" confirming all the information and superstitions resulting from the Christian worldview of the author of the chronicle.[213]

It is more likely, however, that Thomas used the old local tradition of the barbarians' invasion and depopulation of Dalmatian cities.[214] Matijević Sokol noticed that the chronicler used his narrative to support and strengthen the Split's claims to the title of heir of the ancient city of Salona. With no evidence of the continuity of the tradition that would legitimize such a succession, Thomas supplemented history with the motif of the Gothic invasion connecting the issue of the fall of the ancient city and the establishment of a new centre.[215]

Echoes of the attack on the city can also be found in the plot of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. In both versions of the work, Salona was the centre of the kingdom of the Dalmatians. Its importance was particularly emphasized in the Croatian text. In this version, the character of the guilt of the Christians was a complete mystery. As has already been mentioned, in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the issue was presented differently. The Priest of Duklja decided to combine the two threads related to the history of the fall of Salona: heresy and the sin of the Christians. By mentioning Anastasius, the emperor who "stained himself and others with heresy", the Priest of Duklja suggested what this sin could have been. By blaming the Christian side for the heresy, the chronicler vindicated the Goths, and thus he cut through the associations linking Arianism and the Slavic mission of Constantine (St. Cyril) mentioned by him at the end of the Gothic fragment of his work.

---

213 Nenad Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti: kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku historiju* (Zagreb, 1992), pp. 99–105.

214 Such was opinion of Katičić, "Vetustiores ecclesiae," pp. 20–24.

215 Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, p. 231. Lovro Kunčević pointed out a certain detail in a fragment of the work of Thomas the Archdeacon about mediation of Constantinople in the conflict between Salonitians and the invaders (*Historia Salonitana*, pp. 52–53); inhabitants of the city ask the emperor to return the territories "sue civitatis Salone iure pristino possidere", which might be a typical demand in the context of seizing "ancient" Roman heritage by medieval Adriatic cities: Lovro Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku. Diskursi identiteta renesansnog grada* (Zagreb/Dubrovnik, 2015), p. 75. The similar process is discussed comprehensively in next chapters of the present work.

It is not clear when the Goths appeared in the tale of the fall of Salona, available today in various forms. Constantine Porphyrogennetos claimed that the city was captured by Avars. A different tradition probably developed in parallel to the one written by the emperor. Šišić believed that the first source binding the Goths to Salona was one of the hagiographies of St. Domnius.[216] One of them, probably written in the tenth century, contained a reference to the Gothic invasion: "Postea vero Gothorum irruptione diruptis funditusque eversis Salonis …" (Then, in a cruel invasion, the Goths destroyed Salona …).[217] One of hagiographies of this saint was also known to Thomas the Archdeacon. In *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, the subject of the attacks of the Goths on Salona was at best ancillary, and it revealed its original meaning only through comparative analysis.

The only ruler of the Goths mentioned in both *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* and in *Historia Salonitana* was Totila. It is not known exactly how this Gothic ruler had entered the circle of the legend of the fall of Salona. In the narrative of *The Chronicle*, Totila was responsible for the death of the king of the Dalmatians, while Thomas the Archdeacon made him guilty of the partial ruin of the city. A similar legend linking Totila with Salona was known to the thirteenth-century chronicler Thomas of Tuscany, whose work, *Gesta imperatorum et pontificum*, although written slightly later than *Historia Salonitana*, seems to be an independent work. Thomas of Tuscany wrote that Split had been founded when "civitate Salona destructa per Totilam [est]" (the city of Salona [was] destroyed by Totila).[218] Before writing the *Gesta* he probably spent some time in Dalmatia, hence it can be inferred that the link between Totila and the founding of Split was already established in local tradition in the thirteenth century.

Interesting information about this Gothic chieftain can be traced in a copy of *Liber pontificalis* found in the twelfth-century *Korčula codex*.[219] It reports on the election of a new ruler of the Goths, who then besieged Rome: "Tunc Gothi fecerunt sibi regem Tetolam qui fuerat aliis regibus banus et obsedebat undique Romanis" (Then the Goths chose Tetola, who had previously been the ban of another king, for their king, and he surrounded the Romans from every

216 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 110.

217 *Ex vita s. Domnii episcopi*, chapters 7–8, Acta Sanctorum (Venice, 1738), quoted after: *Documenta historiae Chroatiae periodum antiquam*, 169.3, ed. Franjo Rački, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 7 (Zagreb, 1877), p. 288.

218 *Thomae Tusci Gesta imperatorum et pontifivum*, ed. Ernst Ehrenfeuchter, MGH SS vol. 22 (Hannover, 1851), p. 491.

219 The same codex also includes the copy of the chronicle of Isidore of Seville.

angle).[220] The phrase: "qui fuerat aliis regibus banus" was an interpolation by a Croatian copyist. In other versions, Totila was named "Badua" and the sentence was: "Tunc Gothi fecerunt sibi regem Badua, qui Totila nuncupabatur" (Then the Goths chose for their king Badua,[221] whom they called Totila).[222] The addition of the word "banus" is interesting because it may be associated with an episode in the Priest of Duklja's narrative, in which Totila gathered his magnates before the invasion of Italy. The author of *The Chronicle* almost certainly did not know the text of *Korčula Codex* directly, because, although he understood the meaning of the word "ban", in the context of Totila he wrote about his "magnatibus". It is possible that the image of the chieftain Totila surrounded by ban and barones – the result of an error by a twelfth-century copyist – influenced the later shape of the Dalmatian legend of the Goths and found such a surprising realization in one of the Priest of Duklja's descriptions.

11 Summary

The background to the image of the rulers of the Goths in the initial parts of *Regnum Sclavorum* was knowledge of the local tradition of the barbarian invasion of the cities of Dalmatia, itself associated with the history of the fall of Salona and the escape of the Christians to inaccessible places on the coast and in the mountains. The Priest of Duklja probably took the name of Totila from this tradition, and in his description of the invasion of the Goths, he used a formulaic image of barbarians appearing from unknown eastern and northern lands. Thus, the two brothers Totila and Ostroil were, in the text, model examples of chieftain-conquerors and courageous warriors, in line with typical examples of leaders in stories of the barbarian *origo gentis*.

Both Thomas the Archdeacon and the Priest of Duklja associated the presence of the Slavs in the Balkans with the arrival of the Goths. Both chroniclers often used the words "Goths" and "Slavs" synonymously. However, the image of the Slavs in the Priest of Duklja's narrative differed significantly from the vision presented by Thomas. Perhaps the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*, who was more interested in the Slavs, knew of a broader ethnogenetic legend of the Slavic Urheimat and the journey of the brothers, the sons of Senulad (or Svevlad). This would correspond to the images of eponymous rulers known

220 Quoted after: Vinko Foretić, "Korčulanski kodeks 12. stoleća i vijesti iz doba hrvatskie narodne dinastije u njemu," *Starine* 46 (1956), pp. 29–30.

221 Reference to the name name Baduila.

222 Foretić, "Korčulanski kodeks".

from Western Slavdom, and would not be in contradiction with Constantine Porphyrogennetos' record about the arrival of the Croats.

The Priest of Duklja certainly knew that the Goths were associated with the Arian heresy. In the High Middle Ages in Dalmatia, this association was related with the struggle of the Latin clergy and the Slavic rite, as well as the other heretical trends in the area.[223] As we shall see in the next chapter, the Priest of Duklja, who was well-disposed to Slavic liturgy, described the missionary activity of Constantine (St. Cyril), and perhaps also Methodius, mentioned only in the title of the hypothetical source: *Methodius*;[224] a complete contrast to Thomas the Archdeacon who was unfavorable to the Slavic clergy. Unlike the author of *Historia Salonitana*, the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum* did not see the Goths as heretics, but as pagans. In his narrative, the followers of the heresy of Eutyches are the Christians, hence in the works of both authors, the motif of the Goths as performers of God's punishment had a slightly different connotation: in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* they conquer the lands of the Christian kingdoms, while in *Historia Salonitana* initially they justly punish the sinful inhabitants of Salona, and later they are portrayed as dangerous heretics.

This difference should be linked to the various perspectives taken by both historians. The Priest of Duklja's narrative is focused on the Kingdom of the Slavs and its rulers. The establishment of this rule was recognized by the chronicler as an element of historical necessity. As has been stated, this first inception was, however, marked by a mistake of paganism. The Priest of Duklja presented the Gothic period in the history of the kingdom as a time of misery for the Christians, only occasionally mitigated by the rule of wise kings who were able to bring peace to their lands. In contrast to the author of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, the Priest of Duklja did not cut the continuity of the dynasty and saw Svetomir as a direct descendant of Ostroil. The end of this first pagan period of the Kingdom was marked by a cessation of persecutions. The second phase of the creation of the kingdom was to come through Svetopelek.

---

223 Perhaps the nickname "Kotroman Got" given to the founder of the Bosnian dynasty in the Ragusa document of May 14th 1432 can be associated with Bosnian Church ("Cotrumano Gotto del qual a avuto origine e principio li reali di Bosna", after: Mijušković, *Ljetopis*, p. 26). Sakač ("O kavkasko-iranskom podrijetlu Hrvata," p. 2, footnote. 7) thought that the nickname referred to Latinized form of the name of the town Kutjevo (Gotho), pointing out the example of the local church of Holy Mary (*Maria de Goto*). This explanation is unconvincing, taking into consideration that Orbini referred to the abovementioned tradition writing about Kotroman the German (*Cotromanno Tedefco*: Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 375).

224 Chapter 4 of the present work.

CHAPTER 4

Svetopelek as an Example of a King-Legislator: Decisions of the Synod in Dalma and the New Foundations of Power

1 Introduction

Svetopelek is the most important ruler in the entire narrative concept of the Priest of Duklja.[1] We have already mentioned several times the changes resulting from his reign. This period is associated with the conversion of the king to the Christian faith. This conversion transformed the internal and external situation of the Kingdom of the Slavs, and hence enabled its reconstitution during the Synod in Dalma, where the borders of the state were renewed and peace between the groups of Latins and the Slavs was established. During the Synod, Svetopelek was not only baptized but was also crowned. These events significantly changed the position of the realm, which earlier, during the reign of the last pagan kings – who were heirs of the Gothic invaders – had fallen into inner conflict and stagnation.

The next phase of the kingdom was, in a sense, its real inception. The in-depth changes which took place during Svetopelek's reign affected the very essence of the execution of royal power, the foundations of law and the principles of governing the community. It can be said that in the narrative by the Priest of Duklja, the Kingdom of the Slavs after the congress on the plain of Dalma was a completely different construct to the realm of pagan Goths that had existed before. The latter was established by conquest and demanded a symbolic completion.

As we noted in the previous chapter, the ideological layer of the Priest of Duklja's narrative should be approached with caution. Its shape was probably largely based on several older records. In this chapter, by comparing the available versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, we will trace the mysterious threads associated with the figure of Svetopelek. Comparison of the

1 In both of the oldest manuscripts of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the name Svetopelek appears in several forms: Sfetopelek, Suetopelek, Suetopelk, Suetoplek etc. In this chapter, in order to avoid confusion, the form Svatopluk is used to designate the Great Moravian ruler. It is worth remembering that both forms are variants of the same name, which has various spellings in the source material.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_005

text of *Regnum Sclavorum* and the Croatian text of the chronicle will provide an insight into the history of the formation of these characteristic points of the narrative, which can tell us a lot about the concept of the structure of the realm and its organization as the Priest of Duklja saw it.

The Priest of Duklja associated Svetopelek's baptism with Constantine's mission. Traces of the Great Moravian traditions of Cyril and Methodius are clear in this fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum*. However, the traces leading to the hagiography of the two monks, and the Moravian ruler – Svatopluk (Suatopluk) – who appears in it, are also very limited. A similar reference was not, as we have seen, irrelevant, and in a dispute between the supporters and opponents of Slavic liturgy, the Priest of Duklja is clearly situated among the former. It seems justified to enquire about the use of Moravian records and the scope of reference to previous texts from this circle in the process of creating the image of an ideal ruler.

The division of the state, which took place in Svetopelek's time, gave comprehensive evidence of the rules of the kingdom, as presented by the author of *The Chronicle*. Space played a special role in the narrative about the Synod in Dalma, while the vision of the partition of the state brought consequences for the later narrative choices of the chronicler. The way in which Svetopelek divided his land was a part of an ideal programme of regulating the community.[2] The Priest of Duklja described the actions of the king, presenting both a geographic and political vision of the new order, which remained a reference model for the actions of successive rulers of the Slavic dynasty in *The Chronicle*. Defining this area seems necessary because it forms the foundation for the ideal image of a realm in *Regnum Sclavorum*, which will be closely related to the ideal image of a ruler presented in the chronicle. In this chapter we will describe this relationship between the ruler, the area, and the social order prevailing in it.

2 Svetopelek or Budimir? The Synod in the Croatian Version of *The Chronicle*

The text of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* differs from the Latin version in the fragment in which we are interested, mainly in

2 Certain aspects of the research on this issue were presented earlier in the article: Wawrzyniec Kowalski, "Rupture. Integration. Renewal. The Gathering in Dalma and the Creation of a Political Community in the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea," *Slavia Meridionalis* 19 (2019), pp. 1–28.

two important details: (1) the name of the king in the Croatian version is not Svetopelek, but Budimir, and (2) the place where the Synod was held is not Dalma, but Hlivaj.

The difference in king's name is important because of the tradition to which the Priest of Duklja referred. A comparison of both versions can also help in determining their filiation. Disputes by scholars could be resolved by the entry made by Mauro Orbini in the margin of the Italian translation of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Orbini, who knew both variants of the text, noted that the original name of the king was Budimir, and that it was changed after his baptism to Svetopelek, in reference to the word *sveti* – *santo*.[3] Alas, the problem seems to be a bit more complicated, and the controversy among scholars over the name of the ruler is still far from being settled.

Šišić gave priority to the name "Budimir" and claimed that it was replaced by the name Svetopelek in the thirteenth century under the influence of one of the versions of *The Life of Methodius* circulating in the Adriatic region. He noticed a lack of historical records that would confirm the existence of any ruler named Svetopelek in the areas south of the Danube.[4] According to Šišić, the shaping of the legend known from *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* happened in two stages. Initially, the report on the social organization of the Serbs and Croats was associated with the name of the hypothetical local ruler Budimir, and only later – under the influence of the hagiography of Methodius – did it evolve into a vision of a less-defined Slavic community with a broader territorial range. Šišić noticed that in *The Life of Methodius*, Svetopelek and his uncle Rostislav are called "the princes of the Slavs".[5]

In contrast to Šišić, many scholars thought that the name "Svetopelek" had appeared earlier in the narrative. This becomes evident when we compare the very context of the introduction of this name and its impact on the logic of both available versions. In the Croatian version, the text is not entirely clear, especially in the part where the name of the king appears in it. We can quote

3 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 208–209: "Costui si chiamo prima Budimir, ma prechè fù 'il primo dé' rè che se fece christiano, fù chiamato Svetopelek, che à gli Slaui suona 'fanciullo santo'".

4 His theory concerned the very sources of presence of this ruler in *The Life of Methodius*. The historical foundation of this figure was, according to Šišić, Kocel, the duke of the Balaton Principality, encountered by Constantine on his way to Rome. Slavic texts dedicated to activities of Constantine and Methodius – in the first place *The Life of Constantine* and *The Life of Methodius*, and then Bulgarian literature – informed about duke Kocel. Also other chronicles confirm information about participation of the duke in the mission of the Brothers.

5 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 135–136, 143–144.

the characteristics of the ruler, who has been described here as "muž dobar i pravden Budimir kralj Svetog-puka" (good and just man Budimir, the king of Sveti-puk).[6] However, the meaning of the term "Sveti-puk" is not clear. Presumably it meant "holy people" or "holy regiment", i.e. troops, or – more broadly – subjects of King Budimir. However, the other contexts in which a similar phrase was used by the author of the Croatian text of *The Chronicle* may suggest other meanings. We can suspect that the term is probably the result of contamination of the text, possibly due to an insufficient understanding by a copyist or the author of the Croatian version.

This problem was also noticed by Havlík. In analysing particular cases of the presence of the word "Sveti-puk" in the text, he stated that it is untranslatable. In the narrative it had three different meanings: "In the text of the H. redaction, it was mentioned that: 1) Budimir was the 'kralj Svetog-puka' (king of 'Sveti-puk'), and Constantine converted him to Christianity; Constantine preached the new religion in his country; the king sent envoys to the pope and the emperor, he led the Synod, and was crowned at it; 2) 'Sveti-puk' appeared together with the title 'king': when it was said that Constantine said goodbye to the king and 'Sveti-puk'; when it was described how the envoys of the king and 'Sveti-puk' came to the pope, and then when the papal legates bid farewell to the king and 'Sveti-puk'; 3) finally, in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, Sveti-puk appeared as a separate character ('Sveti-puk koji je na kraljevskom prijestolu' [Sveti-puk, who is on the royal throne]) and on this occasion we learn that he lived in 'Kazarika', and that he was converted by Constantine, and strengthened in his faith by papal legates".[7]

Havlík compared all cases of the use of the term "Sveti-puk" with the name of Budimir. He hypothesized that both words appear together when *The Chronicle* discusses events taking place beyond the boundaries of the kingdom, while in less significant cases the narrative mentions either only the name of Budimir, or of "Sveti-puk".[8] Nevertheless – contrary his own hypothesis – Havlík did not exclude the possibility that such an inconsistency in the meaning of the term "Sveti-puk" could also result from multiple scribal interventions in the text of the Croatian variant of *The Chronicle*.[9]

6 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

7 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 91 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 14].

8 *Ljetopis*, p. 92.

9 *Ljetopis*, p. 97.

The broken logic of the Croatian version would best explain the mystery of the parallel presence of Budmir and "Sveti-puk" in the text. It had to be caused by a translator or a copyist from before the beginning of the seventeenth century, when Orbini tried to explain the "two names" paradox. Interestingly, such an ambiguity is absent in the Latin translation of *The Chronicle* made by Marulić in 1510. This may indicate that the translator himself corrected the text, or – perhaps – that particular manuscripts of the Croatian version differed significantly.

The comparison of the Latin and Croatian versions of *The Chronicle* available today suggests that Svetopelek's name was present in the older version of the text and was replaced later. The ineptitude of the translator left peculiar "marks" of this correction. These remnants – used in various circumstances – often correspond with particular sentences of the Latin text. This is illustrated in the following table:

TABLE 2 The Latin and Croatian text about the deeds of Svetopelek/Budimir

I. Inter heac mortuus est rex Svetimirus et accepit regnum [filius] eius *Svetopelek*.[a] (Meanwhile, King Svetimirus died and the kingdom was taken over by his [son] *Svetopelek*)	I ta umri kralj Satamir i prija kraljevstvo i poča kraljevati muž dobar i pravden, imenom *Budimir*, koga biše meju inimi obratil rečeni božiji sluga i muž.[b] (And King Satimir died and the good and honest man named *Budimir* took over the kingdom and began to rule; he, among others, was converted by the aforementioned man and servant of God)
II. Dum autem pergeret transiens per *regnum regis Svetopelek* (…).[c] (When he passed through the *kingdom of King Svetopelek* […])	I pojde on u Kazariku […] I onde pribiva kraljujući *Sveti-puk*, koji Konstanc biše obratil (…).[d] (And he went to Khazaria […]. And there he was, reigning, *Sveti-puk*, whom Constantine converted)

a Based on: Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 91 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 14–15].
b *Ljetopis*, p. 48.
c *Ljetopis*, p. 49.
d *Ljetopis*, p. 49.

TABLE 2 The Latin and Croatian text about the deeds of Svetopelek/Budimir (*cont.*)

III. Ad cuius praedicationem *rex Svetopelek* credidit Christo et baptizatus est cum omni regno suo (…).[e] (After his teachings, *King Svetopelek* believed in Christ and was baptized with his entire kingdom […])	I gradejući navrati se na *kraljevstvo Svetoga-puka*, koga biše na viru obratio, kojih gospodovaše mudri i *dobri kralj Budimir* (…).[f] (And going back, he turned back to *the realm of Sveti-puk*, whom he converted to faith, ruled by the wise and *good King Budimir* […])
IV. Aliquantis post haec diebus immoratus cum *rege* vir beatissimus confirmavit eum in fide atque doctrina Christi et valefaciens omnibus christicolis, Romam profectus est.[g] (Then the blessed man stayed for a few more days at the *king*'s place, strengthened him in the faith and teaching of Christ, and having said goodbye to all Christians he went to Rome.)	I pribivše blaženi muž s *kraljem* nikoliko dan, koji jure utvrjen u viri i u zakonih Isukrstovih, vazam prošćenje od obraza *kraljeva* i onoga *Svetoga-puka*, pojde k Rimu.[h] (And the blessed man stayed a few days with *the king*, whom he strengthened in the faith and laws of Christ, and said goodbye to the face of *the king* and this *Sveti-puk* and went to Rome)
V. Post haec *Svetopelek rex* iussit (…)[i] (Then *King Svetopelek* ordered […])	I tako kralj *Svetoga-puka* zapovidi (…) I tako iskaše *Budimir kralj Svetog-puka* (…)[j] (And so the king of *Sveti-puk* ordered […]. And so ordered *Budimir, the king of Sveti-puk* […])
VI. Dum autem legati regis Romam venissent […] quod occasione accepta mitteret sapietissimos viros, qui novellum ac tenerum *regem* ahuc in fide, et populum eius pascerent ac satiarent panae coelesti ac verbo viate"[k] (When the king's envoys came to Rome […] in the first place because he would be able to send wise men who would feed the new *king*, who's faith was weak, and his people with the heavenly bread and word of life)	I kada posli od kralja i *Svetoga-puka* k papi Stipanu (…)[l] (And when envoys from the king and *Sveti-puk* to Pope Stephen […])

e *Ljetopis*, p. 49.
f *Ljetopis*, p. 49.
g *Ljetopis*, pp. 49–50.
h *Ljetopis*, pp. 49–50.
i *Ljetopis*, p. 50.
j *Ljetopis*, p. 50.
k *Ljetopis*, p. 51.
l *Ljetopis*, p. 51.

TABLE 2 The Latin and Croatian text about the deeds of Svetopelek/Budimir (*cont.*)

VII. (…) et cum eo alios duos cardinales. Episcopos quoque iussit eum secum assumere, qui *populo* adhuc [novello] in fide, episcopos sive ecclesias consecrarent et verbum vitae in eorum quotidie seminerent.[m] ([…]and he ordered to take with him also two cardinals, the Bishops, who would ordain bishops and consecrate churches for the *people*, [new] in faith, and to fill it with words of life every day)	I posla drugoga gardinala i s njimi dva biskupa, a toj da imiju oni *Sveti-puk* kripiti u viri i pripovedati (…)[n] (And he sent another cardinal and with him two bishops, to strengthen *Sveti-puk* in faith and advise him […])
VIII. (…) iussu Honorii apostolici vicarii et christianissimi regis *Svetopelek*, per spatium dierum XII synodum fecerunt.[o] ([…]as ordered by Honorius, papal legat, and the most Christian King *Svetopelek*, and during the synod they organized a twelve-day rally)	I s njima biše kralj *Svetoga nauka* [*puka*] i počeše sa [s]hodom za dva(na)deset dan.[p] (And the king of *Sveti nauk* [*puk*] was with them and then began the twelve-day-long rally)
IX. Itaque perfectis omnibus, cardinales et episcopi ac legati imperatoris, accepta a rege licentia et agentes gratia deo et *regi*, cum honore magno et cum pluribus donis a *rege* datis, reversi sunt ad loca sua.[q] (And so, after everything was done, the cardinals and bishops and imperial messengers bid farewell to the king, praising God and the *king*, with glory and honour and a multitude of gifts from the *king* returned to their countries)	I po tom narejenju gardinali i biskupi i posli cesarovi, videće da su svaka narejena, od blaženoga *kralja i Svetoga-puka* vazeše prošćenje i odpraviše se s velicim počtenjem i dari.[r] (And after these decisions, the cardinals and bishops and imperial envoys, seeing that everything was established by *the king and Sveti-puk*, said goodbye and went away with respect and gifts)

m *Ljetopis*, p. 51.
n *Ljetopis*, p. 51.
o *Ljetopis*, p. 52.
p *Ljetopis*, p. 52.
q *Ljetopis*, p. 56.
r *Ljetopis*, p. 56.

TABLE 2 The Latin and Croatian text about the deeds of Svetopelek/Budimir (*cont.*)

X. Per manus Honorii vicarii et cerdinalium atque episcoporum coronatus est more Romanorum regum, et facta est laetitia magna in *populo* et in universo regno eius[s] (With the hands of Honorius, cardinals and bishops, the king was consecrated and crowned according to the custom of Roman kings, and great joy prevailed among the *people* in the whole kingdom.)	I gardinali i biskupi s voljom *svega puka* posvetiše kralja i potvrdiše u kraljevstvo (…)[t] (And cardinals and bishops, with the approval of *all the people*, consecrated the king and confirmed his right to the kingdom)

s *Ljetopis*, p. 52.
t *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

It is noticeable that in the Latin text the word "rex" or Svetopelek's name is very often replaced by the term "Sveti-puk" in the Croatian version. Only once was the name Svetopelek changed into Budimir without reference to the enigmatic "Sveti-puk" (example I). In several cases, the term "sveti puk" (holy regiment / holy people) was used by the author of the Croatian narrative as a substitute for the word "populus" (VII), which indicates that he was not able to interpret properly the meaning of the word "Svetopelek" and used it sometimes as a name and sometimes as a common noun. Similarly, in another place he also translated "populus" as "sav puk" ("all of the people", X).

It is possible that such confusion about the name of the king indicates a specific stage in the formation of tradition, in which both Budimir and Svetopelek replaced the name of a local ruler. There is no extant source that would confirm such a process, so we do not know what name could possibly be included in the primary text. In contrast to the fragment about the invasion of the Goths in which the narrative of the Croatian version was in many places more coherent than the Latin text we know, this time the Croatian variant seems to be retouched in such a way that particular words often lose their semantic consistency.

Mošin, another publisher of *The Chronicle*, commenting on Šišić's observations, noted that the source material also lacks reports of any ruler named Budimir.[10] Havlík put forward a risky hypothesis that the name "Budimir" was

10 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, pp. 16–17.

a distorted form of the name "Branimir", which would refer to the historical ninth-century duke of the Slavs mentioned in the previous chapter. Branimir, like Moravian Svatopluk, presumably obtained a special papal guarantee, legitimising his political actions.[11] Another inspiration for the legendary Budimir could also be Mutimir (Muncimir), Branimir's successor.[12] However, this hypothesis does not seem convincing. Besides Branimir's relationship with the papacy, there are not many premises linking this historical ruler with the fictitious Budimir known from the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*.

It can be noted that the name Budimir appeared sporadically in sources from the territory of Croatia. The first instance is in a document from 892, that is, from the time of the reign of Mutimir. The document mentions two župans of this name. One of them was referred to as *iupanus palatinus*.[13] Šišić associated Budimir's name with the stone inscription: VDIMER from Knin.[14]

Some scholars tried to link the circumstances in which Budimir could get into the circle of the narrative of *The Chronicle* with the traditions supposedly taken over by the Kačić family. Traces of these traditions can be found in the sources on the subject of the enigmatic tribal organization of the Maronians. Thanks to Miho Barada, the entire later historiography links the Maronians with the Narentines community mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos[15] and John the Deacon[16] (in the sources Arentan/Narrentan). Barada believed that they formed an independent state, which in the eleventh century was absorbed by the Croatian polity ruled by Peter Krešimir.[17] However, deficiencies in this hypothesis were pointed out by Mladen Ančić. He even wrote about "the myth of the Narentines" and suggested that in fact these names referred to several different phenomena, all of them ephemeral. One of them was the organization of the Maronians, linked with sea piracy in southern Dalmatia.[18] The sources most often refer to their leaders as *dux Marianorum, Marianorum*

11 See: Matijević Sokol, Sokol, "Hrvatska i Nin u doba kneza Branimira," pp. 39–44, 53–57.

12 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 98 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 17].

13 *Documenta*, no. 12, p. 16.

14 Ferdo Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara* (Zagreb, 1925), p. 391.

15 "Ἀρεντανοί, ὁι καί Παγανοί προσαγορυόμενοι", *De administrando imperio*, chapter 29, p. 124. Also: chapter 30, p. 144, chapter 36, p. 164.

16 *Johannis diaconi chronicon Venetum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, MGH SS vol. 7 (Hannover, 1846), p. 16.

17 Miho Barada, "Dinastičko pitanje u Hrvatskoj XI stoleća," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50 (1928–29) [1932], pp. 157–199; idem, "Topografija Porfirogenitove Paganije," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* Nova serija 1–2 (1928), vol. 2, pp. 37–54.

18 Mladen Ančić, "Miho Barada i mit o Neretvanima," Povijesni prilozi 41 (2011), pp. 17–43; idem, "Ranosrednjovjekovni Neretvani ili Humljani. Tragom zabune koju je prouzročilo

iudex or *iupanus morsticus*.[19] One of the alleged kings, Slavic (Slauiz), the brother of župan *morsticus* Rusin, had in his circle a man called Budimir. This Budimir had the local court title tepči (*tepizi*), and he is also attested in a document dated between 1065 and 1076, written in the monastery of St. Peter in Selo.[20]

Both the monastery and the alleged main centre of the Maronians in Omiš were, from the twelfth century, under the control of the Kačić family. Havlík even believed that its representatives had previously been the elite of the state of the Maronians and that Slavic and Rusin came from their family. No sources, however, confirm such an opinion. A fourteenth-century gloss on the margin of the twelfth-century *Supetar Cartulary* which mentions the Kačić family among the six houses from which Croatian bans had originated, was probably written in the St. Peter monastery. However, the cartulary did not mention any Budimir. The author of the interpolation knew the tradition of the king *Svetopeleg* as the first member of the Croatian dynasty to be known by name. It is possible that some members of the Kačic family, cooperating with the monks from the St. Peter monastery, formulated their own family legend, appropriating the heritage of the Maronians through names known from older documents. Besides information that the name Budimir was widespread in the Kačić family in modern times, there is no proof in the form of a narrative that would link this family directly with the heritage of the legendary king.

The manuscript of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* was found by Papalić in the estate of the Kačić family in 1500. Because the copy made by Papalić was lost, we do not know if it included Budimir's name. Havlík doubted this, and did not reject the possibility that the modification was made in the sixteenth-century Marulić translation and the copy made by Kaletić in 1546. Although Havlík overestimated the links between the Kačić family and the nobleman at the court of the župan of the Maronians, the hypothesis that Budimir's name should be linked to the traditions of the magnate family seems to be the most interesting and the only one, so far, which explains the circumstances of the mysterious difference associated with the name of the ruler in the two versions of *The Chronicle*.[21]

---

djelo 'De administrando imperio'," in: *Hum i Hercegovina kroz povijest*, vol. 1, ed. Ivica Lučić (Zagreb, 2011), pp. 217–278.

19 An attempt to define these terms precisely – critically approaching the settlements of Barada – can be found in: Samuel Puhiera, "Judex, dux Marianorum," *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara* 1 (1959), pp. 5–16.

20 *Documenta*, no. 81, p. 98.

21 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 100 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 19].

The location of the congress convened by the king and called "the Synod of Dalma" in the historiography, was different in the Croatian variant of the work. According to *Regnum Sclavorum* it took place "in planitie Dalmae", while the Croatian text stated that the king waited for the papal legates "na planini, ka se diše Hlivaj" (on the mountain which is called Hlivaj). This is a significant change – in the Croatian narrative the synod took place not in a field or plain, but on a mountain. Presumably, the difference was due to the similarity of the Latin word "planities" [plain], and Slavic "planina" [mountain]. However, we can ask whether the transformation was the result of an ordinary spelling mistake, or another concept introduced by the author of the Croatian text.

This detail changes the image of the synod. In the Latin narrative, the vision is subordinated to the practical aspect. It refers to real congresses or rallies that took place in a convenient place: on fields or plains. At the same time, the image presented by the Croatian version gains a new symbolism. The central role of mount Hlivaj could be a reference to the biblical topos of proclaiming the laws from a hilltop. The top as the axis and centre of state is a motif known from medieval legends, probably borrowed from the folk view of the world.[22]

It is also worth noting several less significant differences in the text of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*. They can help us better understand the discrepancies between the two descriptions of the coronation of King Svetopelek/Budimir and between two ways of understanding the space represented by the authors of the two versions. The Priest of Duklja based his narrative on older traditions or texts which he changed only slightly while rewriting; fragments in which the two versions differ may also serve to highlight some details which perhaps were important for him and which he wanted to preserve. The differences can be traced mainly in the details, especially in proper names:

– The Croatian text did not give the monastic name of Constantine – Cyril (Kyrillus) – while in the Latin version it was mentioned.[23]
– The Croatian version also omits the name of the cardinal sent by Pope Stephen to help the king. This text mentions another person, also anonymous, a cardinal and two bishops.[24] In the Latin version the legate was named Honorius; he was accompanied by two other cardinals and an unknown number of bishops.

22 See: Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 67–78.

23 *Ljetopis*, p. 49.

24 *Ljetopis*, p. 51.

– While the Latin text listed in detail the suffragan dioceses subordinate to the archdioceses in Salona and Dioclea,[25] the Croatian version mentioned only that "numerous bishops" were subject to the two archbishoprics.[26]
– The Croatian version does not give the names of the imperial envoys. In the Latin version, they were named Leo and John.[27]
– The name of the emperor to whom King Budimir asked "to recall the laws and borders" is not clear. In one place he is called Constantine,[28] while several lines below, in a passage mentioning the arrival of the imperial envoys, the emperor is called Michael, as in the Latin version.[29]
– The name "Red Croatia" does not appear in the Croatian variant of *The Chronicle*, although it refers to the area/community of *Hrvate Bile* [White Croats], also known as Lower Dalmatians (*Dalmatini Nižnji*). In passages of the Latin text mentioning Red Croatia, the counterpart in the Croatian text is *Donja Dalmacija* [Lower Dalmatia], corrected by Šišić, rightly, to *Gornja Dalmacija* [Upper Dalmatia].[30]
– The number of years of the king's reign may also be similarly distorted by the author of the Croatian text. Svetopelek from the Latin version ruled for forty years and four months, while Budimir did so for forty years and three months.[31] There is not much to be said about the "Croatian script" used in the Papalić manuscript, because the manuscript did not survive. It is not known if it was written in Glagolitic or rather in *Bosančica* – the Bosnian variant of the Cyrillic alphabet. The difference between both versions regarding this detail may be, as was noted by Havlík, a hint of transliteration of the text of *The Chronicle*. The letter *glagoli* (phonetic /g/), as a Cyrillic numeral (*г*) meant 3, but as a Glagolitic numeral (Ⰳ) meant 4.[32]
– In the Croatian version there are no references to Budimir's coronation – this issue will be discussed below. Instead, the text mentions the "consecration" of the king: "I gardinali i biskupi s voljom svega puka posvetiše kralja i potvrdiše u kraljevstvo" (And cardinals and bishops, with the will of all the people, consecrated the king and confirmed his right to the kingdom).[33]

25 *Ljetopis*, p. 54.
26 *Ljetopis*, p. 53.
27 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.
28 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.
29 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.
30 *Ljetopis*, p. 54.
31 *Ljetopis*, p. 56.
32 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 143 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 44].
33 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

Discrepancies between both versions regarding the division of offices and dignities in the Kingdom were not limited to nomenclature. The Latin version detailed that the highest in the hierarchy were bans, or dukes (*duces*), the closest relatives of the king; lower in rank were župans, or *comites*, subordinate to the king; centurions were the rank below both bans and župans.

Interestingly, although the Latin narrative introduced local Slavonic nomenclature, it was slightly modified in the Croatian text. Besides *bans* in each of the main parts of the realm, in several places the king created the office of *duž*. As the author of this version points out, everyone holding one of these dignities was to be "od pup[k]orizne plemeniti", which Šišić, after Jagić, translated as "noble from birth" – literally from "pup orizne", i.e. "what was cut from the navel [i.e. umbilical cord]" ("pupkovina").[34] The author decided to distinguish the titles ban and *duž* (translation of Latin *dux*), which probably corresponded better to the actual political organization of the Croatian kingdom under the Árpád rule.

The status of *kneze* [singular: *knez*], next in the hierarchy, was also different. Unlike župans in *Regnum Sclavorum*, *kneze* in the Croatian version were not fully independent of bans and dukes, but they were even chosen by them from among members of the family (ban and *duž* "učiniše kneze od svoga kolina" [established *kneze* from his family]). The Croatian version claims that the king: "daše svakomu banu sedam satnikov […] a s duži, aliti hercezi, pet knezov […] I odluči da svaki knez prozove jednoga satnika" (gave seven centurions to each ban […] and from *duži* or *hercegs*, five *kneze* […] And he decided that each *knez* should establish one centurion), which explains this rather complicated system of dependencies: just like in the Latin version, centurions were subject both to bans and to *kneze*, the counterparts of župans. A ban ruled over seven centurions, while a *knez* over only one centurion.

The author of the Croatian version developed the (already introduced) distinction between a ban and a duke (*duž*, known also in this verse as *herceg*). In the Latin version, ban and *dux* are synonyms, while the Croatian version considers them two distinct pillars of royal power. Although both bans and dukes had an influence on appointing *kneze*, only dukes exercised direct control over *kneze*. Each duke (*duž, herceg*) had five *kneze* at his disposal. This was to some extent in line with the scheme: župan (*comes*) – ban in the Latin text, although in the Croatian version a *knez* was not subordinated directly to the king, but to a *duž*.[35]

34 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 433.

35 *Ljetopis*, p. 55.

The terminology of the conventions of the congress at Mount Hlivaj stood out against the rest of the narrative. Indeed, it could have been inspired by the situation of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the High Middle Ages. A member of the Hungarian royal family, the duke-*herceg* of Croatia and Dalmatia (*dux Dalmatiae et Croatiae*), also called *dux totius Sclavoniae*,[36] ruled in co-operation with a Croatian ban, subordinate to him and chosen from among local magnates.[37] Besides the description of the Synod, the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* used the words *duž* and *herceg* only in relation to foreign rulers. There is a mention of a *duž* of a certain group of Germans who attacked the Croatian land from Istria and were defeated by King Cepimir.[38] The term *herceg* appears in the context of the story of King Seislav described more comprehensively in the next chapter. In this version Seislav fought with a nameless Hungarian opponent, who is called "knez ali herceg na Ugrih" (*knez* or *herceg* in Hungary) – thus he was not one of *hercegs-duže* mentioned on the occasion of the Synod, and subordinate to the king of the Slavs/Croats.

3 Svetopelek or Svatopluk? The Tradition of Cyril and Methodius

At the end of the nineteenth century, Ludwig Thallóczy stated that the name Svetopelek was "fabricated"[39] by the Priest of Duklja; however, he did not rule out closer links between some of the narrative threads of *Regnum Sclavorum* and the Great Moravian tradition.

It is definite that the Moravian Svatopluk was not the exact prototype of the Adriatic Svetopelek.[40] However, both shared the same name, and some of the activities of the king of the Slavs known from *Regnum Sclavorum* were inspired

36 About this title see: Ančić, "Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoleća," pp. 174–178.

37 Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskoga naroda od najstarijih dana do godine 1873* (Zagreb, 1916), pp. 156–158.

38 *Ljetopis*, p. 61.

39 Precisely 'caught in the air' – "aus der Luft gegriffene": Lajos Thallóczy, "Die ungarische Beziehungen der Chronik des Presbyter Diocleas," *Archiv für slawische Philologie* 20 (1898), pp. 206–220 (here: p. 208).

40 There is another controversial hypothesis according to which Great Moravia was situated in the south, near the rivers of the Great Morava, the Sava and the Danube. This historiographic myth was exhaustively expressed in the work by Imre Boba (*Moravia's History Reconsidered: a Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague, 1971), who considered *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* as one of his most important sources (ibidem, pp. 106–107). Although the concepts of Boba were not accepted by historians, recently they have gained some popularity, especially among Hungarian scholars: István Petrovics, "Imre Boba i pitanje Velike Moravske," *Scrinia Slavonica* 1 (2008), vol. 8, pp. 563–576.

by the texts from Cyril and Methodius' circle which were known in medieval Dalmatia and the part of the Balkans under discussion. The connection between Svetopelek's baptism and Constantine's mission shows the transfer of some narrative motifs, although its scope and actual degree of relationship between the two sets of works remains unknown.

Analysis of the legend about Svetopelek in the narration of *Regnum Sclavorum* reveals its complex structure. The crucial figure was, in fact, Constantine, and until he disappeared from the horizon of events described by the Priest of Duklja, Svetopelek played only a minor role in the narrative. He was mainly a ruler whom the future saint converted during one of his missions. The situation changed during the Synod in Dalma, where the king of the Slavs clearly played the main role. It is also much harder to define the degree of connection between this part of the motif and the Great Moravian tradition.

The scope of the influence of the earlier tradition on the narrative about the Synod in Dalma has long been a subject of a dispute. The search for a historical Svetopelek led scholars to various – yet invariably controversial – results. Borislav Radojković identified Svetopelek with Michael (Mihajlo) Višević. According to this concept, his father would be the prince of the Vistulans who was exiled by the Moravian Svatopluk and took refuge in Dalmatia. According to documents – or, in fact, their sixteenth-century copies – Michael became the prince of Hum (Zachlumia) and together with the Croatian King Tomislav participated in the Synod in Split in 925.[41] Interestingly, in some sources from around eleventh century, Michael indeed was described as *rex Sclavorum*.[42] Rus, supporting his own hypotheses on the Croats and Goths, was also willing to interpret a fragment of *The Life of Methodius* about the prince "on the Vistula" as a trace of the journey of the family of Michael, the Prince of Hum, from the Vistula region[43] mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[44] These conclusions, however, did not withstand criticism.[45] Later, Rus found another historical figure who could have been the ruler convening the synod (he believed that his name was Budko, a possible diminutive of Budimir): the

41 Borislav M. Radojković, "Država kralja Svetopeleka i njegovih potomaka," *Istorijski zapisi*, 19 (1962), pp. 399–435.

42 These were *Annales Beneventani, Annales Barenses*, and *Lupi protospatari annales*. See: Piotr Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie … Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu* (Katowice, 2010), p. 252.

43 Rus, *Slovanstvo in vislanski Hrvatje*, pp. 36–37.

44 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 33, pp. 160–161.

45 These concepts are criticised in: Barada, *Dvije publikacije*, pp. 497–502.

archon Porga,[46] mentioned by Porphyrogennetos in the context of the baptism of the Croats.[47]

Šišić, as has already been mentioned, claimed that Svetopelek's name came to the Adriatic region with *The Life of Methodius*. At the same time he claimed that it was not included in *Regnum Sclavorum* before the thirteenth century.[48] Mošin refuted these arguments – in his opinion the name of the king certainly contained a reference to the Great Moravian ruler.[49] However, he believed that it did not have to mean that the narrative layer also came to the south with some legend about Constantine's mission. As Havlík observed, the conclusion of Mošin's ideas would be that the name Svętopъlkъ was not adopted before the end of the tenth century, because it was only then that the nasal vowels disappeared from the language spoken by the Southern Slavs.[50] Živković recently suggested that this could have happened earlier, and the probability of the spread of the traditions related to Cyril and Methodius to the south is indicated by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who wrote that after the fall of Great Moravia, some of the inhabitants of those lands emigrated to Croatia, among other places.[51] Havlík similarly believed that the name "Svatopluk" was known in Dalmatia probably from the time of Methodius' return journey from Rome, and certainly already from 886, when the disciples of Methodius were banished by Bishop Wiching.[52]

However, there are no premises for suggesting that the legend of Svatopluk was particularly popular in Dalmatia in the ninth century. On the contrary: Svetopelek probably did not become an important figure for the South Slavic dynastic traditions before the fourteenth century. Besides the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, only vague references point to the traces of these stories. The earliest of them is the aforementioned gloss in the margin of *Supetar Cartulary*. This cartulary was probably written in the twelfth century, but the gloss was added about two centuries later. In fact, there are two distinct glosses: the former describes the process of electing a king by bans belonging to six noble families, while the latter is a corrupted list of bans of the Croatian *gens*. The first gloss and the tradition of electing Croatian kings will be discussed later. Here we quote the text of the second gloss:

46 See: Jože Rus, *Krst prvih Hrvatov in Srbov. Nova poglavja o zgodovini kraljev Svevladićev 614–654* (Ljubljana, 1932).

47 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 31, pp. 148–149.

48 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 135–136.

49 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, pp. 16–17.

50 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 97 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 17].

51 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 130.

52 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 163 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*. p. 57].

> isti fuerunt bani in Croacia de genere Croatorum a tempore regis Suetopelegi usque ad tempus Suenimiri regis Croatorum: Stephanus Cucar, Saruba […] Slauaz Cucar fuit iudex regis Presimir Cucar. Tempore Suenimiri fuit Petrus Sna […] banus. Omnes isti fuerunt bani in Croacia
>
> (These were bans of Croatia from the family of Croats since the time of King Suetopelegi until the time of Suenimir, a king of Croats: Stephanus Cucar, Saruba […] Slauaz Cucar was a royal judge Presimir Cucar. In the time of Suenimir Petrus Sna […] was a ban. They were all bans in Croatia).[53]

On the basis of this gloss, scholars have tried to infer when the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* could have been written. Šišić interpreted the gloss as evidence that the person who wrote it knew the text of the Croatian version, although Svetopelek's name does not appear in this version.[54] On the other hand, Živković – in accordance with his hypothesis regarding the chronology of the formation of *The Chronicle* – claimed that the author of the interpolation would have had to have read a Latin record containing the names of Svetopelek and Zvonimir, as the latter is absent in *Regnum Sclavorum*. This narration was then used as the basis of the Croatian version.[55] Indeed, the record in the shape in which it is in probably proves the existence of a certain text in which the figures of Svetopelek and Zvonimir were presented at two poles in the development of the dynasty. The scheme "from Svetopelek to Zvonimir" could be an argument in favour of the thesis that the tradition known to the author of the gloss had some features of both versions of *The Chronicle* known to us today: the Latin and the Croatian.

Havlík noticed that the shape of the gloss might be influenced by the aforementioned family of Kačićs – the same person, according to his hypothesis, who was responsible for adding Budimir's name[56] to the Croatian text of *The Chronicle*. Although the gloss does not include this name, the first part of the interpolation could indeed correspond with the ambitions of the Kačić family, who are mentioned in the same text as one of the six largest Croatian families. Perhaps the impact of the Kačić family on the shape of the text could have been prolonged and multi-stage, and the original finite list of Croatian

53 Držislav Švob, "Pripis Supetarskog kartulara o izboru starohrvatskog kralja i popis onodobnih banova," *Historijski zbornik*, 1–4 (1956), vol. 9, pp. 101–117.

54 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 162–163.

55 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 49–50.

56 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 99–100 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 18–19].

kings – from Svetopelek to Zvonimir – was subsequently "updated" by replacing the first ruler with the figure of Budimir.

The Svetopelek's name was also known in Ragusan literature. Although Živković thought that the writers from Dubrovnik only knew the legend of Svetopelek from the work of the Priest of Duklja,[57] it must be remembered that the versions of *The Chronicle* available today are late copies and the Dubrovnik records should not be underestimated.

In *Annales Ragusini*, probably dating back to the fifteenth century, we find information dated to 972 that states that after five years of rule by the lord from Albania, the man of the Moravian-Croatian family became the King of Bosnia. If we take into account that the Kingdom of Bosnia in the *Annales* is usually the counterpart of the term "the Kingdom of the Slavs" in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (as will be discussed later while analysing the legend of King Bello and the founding of Ragusa), we can find traces of a tradition similar to the one known from the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*. An unnamed legendary king from the Moravian-Croatian family can be indirect evidence that the anonymous author of *Annales* knew the tradition of Svetopelek not from *The Chronicle* but from another source.

Havlík noticed that the Ragusan historiography reproduced some motifs similar to the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, though in a slightly changed configuration.[58] *Annales Ragusini* stated that in the year 871, Berislav, baron *de Harvatia*, ruled in Bosnia after King Stephen.[59] This information was modified by Nicola Ragnina, the Ragusan chronicler and continuator of the *Annales*, who was writing in the sixteenth century. Slightly changing the chronology, he added that in 813, a monk named Cyril baptized the Bulgarians and the Bosnians, that in 815 King Stephen – known *in lingua slava* as Svetolić – was replaced by Berislav from Croatia, and that 972 was the first year of the reign of the king representing the Moravian lineage from Croatia (here, Ragnina repeated information provided by the anonymous author of *Annales Ragusini*).[60]

---

57 Tibor Živković, "O Takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju," *Zbornik za Istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 4 (2004), p. 54.

58 Lubomir Havlík, "Dubrovnické kroniky a tradice a Svatoplukovi," *Slovanský Přehled* 3 (1972), vol. 58 pp. 197–200.

59 *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, ed. Speratus Nodilo [Natko Nodilo], Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 14 (Zagreb, 1883), pp. 20, 22. [hereafter cited as: *Annales Ragusini*]

60 *Annali di Ragusa del magnifico Ms. Nicolo di Ragnina*, ed. Speratus Nodilo [Natko Nodilo], Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 14 (Zagreb, 1883) pp. 192–193, 202. [hereafter cited as: *Nicolai de Ragnina*]

In the later work by Resti, there was information about the Bosnian Bishop Radagost who in 1189 addressed Bernard, the Archbishop of Ragusa, with a defence of Slavic liturgy, quoting the charter given by Pope John VIII in 880.[61] This is probably a reference to the letter which was actually sent to Svatopluk.[62] Resti also stressed that the Bosnian bishop did not know Latin. Much earlier, Ragnina wrote extensively about Radagost, and although he did not mention the charter, he claimed that Bernard of Ragusa had consecrated a certain diocese in Bosnia at the time of the rule of ban Kulin. Ragnina also discussed Radagost's visit to Rome, where the bishop had presented the issue of the diocese of Bosnia to Pope Celestine.[63] This mention gives rise to suspicions that other Great Moravian traditions – including those related to Slavic liturgy – had infiltrated the Ragusa area, perhaps independently of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. On these grounds, Havlík speculated that similar traditions could also be known in Bosnia.[64]

It would be interesting to enquire about the place of the figure of King Svetopelek in the narrative circle of legends connected with Svatopluk.[65] Havlík, who interpreted the legend of the Synod in Dalma as part of a formerly independent plot, the so-called *Dalmatian Legend of St. Constantine*, believed that the events described as taking place during this congress referred to one of the councils convened by Moravian Svatopluk.[66] A reference to such an event was included, for example, in *The Life of St. Methodius*.[67] However, the way the events of the Synod are presented in *Regnum Sclavorum* – especially the description of the coronation of the king – contradict such claims and suggest that this narrative originally belonged to a separate tradition which was later combined with fragments of stories, well-known in Dalmatia, about the mission of St. Constantine.

Such an approach may be indirectly confirmed by the fact that sources contemporary to the Great Moravian ruler did not mention his coronation.

---

61 *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii* (*ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451*), ed. Natko Nodilo, Zagreb 1893, p. 63.

62 *Epistolae*, no. 90, [in:] MMFH vol. 3, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka, pp. 197–209.

63 *Nicolai de Ragnina*, p. 219.

64 Havlík, "Dubrovnické kroniky," p. 198.

65 The motifs of Great Moravian origins in historiography of the neighbouring countries, Slavdom and Hungary, is discussed in: Ryszard Grzesik, "Wielkomorawscy bohaterowie – rodzimi czy obcy?," in idem, *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis*, pp. 59–69.

66 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronikai i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 134–135 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 38–39].

67 *Żywot Metodego*, chapter 12, in *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego* (*obszerne*), ed. Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 114–117.

Information provided by Abu Saʿīd Gardēzī can be interpreted in this way, although it is not clear whether the Persian geographer meant Svatopluk or someone else. Pope Stephen V used the title *rex* in reference to Svatopluk in his letter.[68] The same term is used by Regino of Prüm.[69] It must be remembered, however, that those who reigned at the fringes of Christendom might be titled *rex* even though they were not crowned rulers.

The literary tradition associated with Moravian Svatopluk retained the ambiguous image of this ruler, so an analysis of selected texts in terms of his characteristics can help to identify the possible direction from which some narrative motifs came to Dalmatia, and the time in which it happened. Havlík speculated that information about historical Svatopluk might have come to that region from Bohemia, where the memory of the ruler was an important element of local historiography from the very beginning. At the same time he did not rule out the possibility that the legend of Svetopelek and Constantine was also influenced by the Bulgarian literary centre in Ohrid.

The attitude of medieval Czech literature to the figure of Svatopluk was characterized by far-reaching ambivalence, probably due to German influences. The anonymous author of the note included in the *Annales Fuldenses*,[70] and later Thietmar,[71] described the conflict between the Moravian ruler and the emperor Arnulf, emphasizing the infidelity and pride of the former. Czech chroniclers also highlighted this conflict and the fall of Svatopluk after the war with the Hungarians;[72] these events were mentioned by Cosmas[73] and Dalimil.[74] Both medieval historians also repeated the legend about the mysterious disappearance of the prince and his departure to the monastery on Zobor Mountain.[75] According to Dalimil, it was not the first time that a

68 *Epistolae*, no. 101, [in:] MMFH vol. 3, pp. 215–225; *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, eds. František Grivec, Franc Tomšič (Zagreb, 1960), pp. 75–77.

69 See: Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie*, pp. 116–119.

70 See: "Zwentibaldo" in *Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pretzli, MGH SS rerum germanorum vol. 7 (Hannover, 1891), pp. 118–119.

71 *Kronika Thietmara*, trans. and edit. Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki (Krakow, 2005), p. 170.

72 For an overview of Svatopluk's tradition in the Czech medieval historiography see: Marek Vadrna, *Obraz kráľa Svätopluka I. v českých kronikách*, in Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve*, pp. 230–273.

73 *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 14, p. 27; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, p. 20.

74 *Rýmovaná Kronika Česká*, chapter 26, pp. 41–43.

75 Grzesik pointed out that the figure of duke of Nitra named Zobor appeared in *Gesta Hungarorum*. He was hanged by Hungarians after seizing of the city, and the mountain on which he died was named after him. Presumably, an anonymous notary reported here a legend related to Svatopluk: Grzesik, "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna," pp. 98.

Moravian ruler had become a monk. The chronicler recalled the story of the conflict between Svatopluk and Emperor Arnulf. After defeating Svatopluk, the emperor seized his land and took his wife (Arnulf's own sister) to his court. Svatopluk spent seven years in the forest among hermits, then went incognito to the imperial court, accused Arnulf of wrongfully seizing the lands of his brother-in-law, and demanded a trial by ordeal. The emperor appointed one of his knights to stand against the monk, yet Svatopluk, still wearing the habit, managed to defeat him. When Svatopluk revealed his identity, the emperor gave him his land back (the chronicle's Latin translation, made in the time of Charles IV, mentions the return of his wife as well). In both versions, shortly after, Svatopluk was forced to give power to Hungarians.[76]

Some Czech texts linked to the tradition of Cyril and Methodius presented a negative image of Svatopluk, based on different sources. According to these sources, he was a perverse ruler and usurper who fell into conflict with Methodius. As a result, Methodius cursed the prince and his state. Such an image was presented in several Latin texts: *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris* (*Legenda Moravica*);[77] *Vita s. Ludmillae et s. Venceslais*,[78] authored by the so-called monk Christian; and the legend *Beatus Cyrillus*.[79] Havlík noticed, however, that these works were characterized by inconsistencies in the interpretation of Svatopluk's actions. Initially, the prince was described as a friend of Methodius, but later, and suddenly, his enemy.[80] Some works of Czech literature from the High Middle Ages, such as *Diffundente sole* (*Legenda Bohemica*)[81] and *Quemadmodum*,[82] did not reproduce the "black legend" of this ruler, but rather had a shortened tale of Cyril and Methodius, and some threads – due to the limitation of space – had to be omitted. As for *Diffundente sole*, Havlík speculated that this work could have had older roots than other texts, repeating the negative characteristics of Svatopluk. Havlík explained the hostile attitude towards the prince as a mistake by Czech chroniclers who confused Great Moravian Svatopluk with his godson, Zventibold, Arnulf's son. The image

76 Grzesik, "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna," pp. 93–106. There are concepts interpreting this motive as an adaptation of some oral version of the adventures of Odysseus, known among the Slavs through Greek missionaries. See: Vadrna, *Obraz kráľa Svätopluka*, pp. 252–262 (where there is also a fragment of the Latin translation).

77 *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris – Legenda Moravica*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 265–266.

78 *Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Venceslai et sanctae Ludmile ave eius*, MMFH vol. 2, p. 192.

79 *Legenda Beatus Cyrillus*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 302–303.

80 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 103–112 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 20–26].

81 *Legenda Diffundente sole*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 276–284.

82 *Legenda Quemadmodum*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 289–297.

of Zventibold, the King of Lorraine and Burgundy, in the Western sources was, according to Havlík, rather negative.[83] Regino of Prüm and the *Annales Fuldenses* do indeed mention Zvetibold's conflict with his subjects and the clergy, culminating in the death of the ruler. Despite this, after the king's death, his cult developed, and he was presented in hagiography according to the rex-confessor model.[84] Another interpretation was provided by Martin Homza, who perceived the significant influence of Hungarian historiography on the development of the black legend of Svatopluk. In particular, the image of this ruler in *The Great Compilation of Hungarian Chronicles* supposedly indicated an attempt to legitimize the conquest of the Slavs by Magyars and the process of the formation of one political nation by the Hungarian nobility in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[85]

In Ohrid literature, the conflict between Svatopluk and Methodius was present in the Greek *Bios Klimentos* (*ΒίοςΚλήμεντος*, *Bulgarian legend*),[86] a work attributed to the Archbishop of Ohrid, Theophylact, living at the turn of the eleventh century. The main discrepancy between the Ohrid School and the Czech chronicles, as far as the "black legend" of Svatopluk is concerned, is that they explained in different ways the reasons for the sudden transformation of the ruler. According to *Bios Klimentos*, Svatopluk was led astray by the Latin clergy, in the first place by Wiching, who had been cursed by Methodius.[87]

In the Dalmatian tradition, Svetopelek had no negative features. Havlík explained that this was due to the early transmission of the tradition, although it cannot be unequivocally verified whether it came from Ohrid or from Bohemia. The presence of Slavic liturgy in Dalmatia can probably be confirmed as early as in the first half of the tenth century. The issue of using the Slavic language was discussed at the Synod in Split in 925. It is more difficult, however, to explain the nature of the process of the transformation of this minor character from the legends about Constantine and Methodius' mission into the main figure of the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

The case of Czech dynastic legends shows that the figure of Svatopluk was able to form his own legendary threads. Cosmas presents the fall of the prince and his realm as a part of a broader tale of the baptism of the Czechs and

83 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 108–109 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 23–24].

84 Ľubica Štrbáková, *Svätopluk Lotrinský (ƒ 900), krstný syn Svätopluka I., ako postava historická a hagiografická*, in Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve*, pp. 177–229.

85 Martin Homza, *Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov (čierna a biela svätoplukovská legenda)*, in idem et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve*, pp. 48–57.

86 *Bios Klimentos* [*ΒίοςΚλήμεντος*], MMFH vol. 2, 215–219.

87 *Bios Klimentos* [*ΒίοςΚλήμεντος*], p. 219.

the liberation of their state from Moravian domination. Hungarian chronicles can also explain the phenomenon of Svatopluk's exclusion from the narrative about Constantine and Methodius, and building a new narrative with the prince as a central figure. In the anonymous *Gesta Hungarorum*, Svatopluk was called "Marót", i.e. Moravian, and his reign was described as extending to the territories inhabited by the Khazars.[88] As was observed by Havlík, if the passage of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* about Sveti-puk ruling in "Kazarika" were not the result of a lack of linguistic skills in the chronicler, the analogy to a similar detail regarding the ruler's domain should be sought in *Gesta Hungarorum*.[89] The anonymous notary also knew the character called Menumorout (Ménmarót), grandson of Marót, which can be translated today as "the great Moravian", although the anonymous author of *Gesta Hungarorum* derived its etymology from the Old Hungarian word "mén" ("stallion", in this context, having many wives). Menumorout was the ruler of the region and the castle of Bihar. Out of fear of the Hungarians, he agreed to the marriage of his daughter to Zolta, Árpád's son, sealing the Slav-Hungarian alliance.[90]

The figure of "Marót" may show traces of Hungarian-Moravian symbiosis, as well as being an example of the adoption of some motifs from the Great Moravian tradition by the Hungarian elite.[91] Some themes described by the anonymous author of *Gesta Hungarorum* were later developed by Simon of Kéza in his chronicle *Gesta Hunnorum et Hungarorum*, written in the second half of the thirteenth century. According to Simon, Svatopluk (*Zvataplug*) was the son of Marót, not Marót himself, although the chronicler mentioned that some people attribute the deeds of Marót to his son. The name "Svatopluk" was unknown, while Marót "nomine maior erat" (was a famous figure).[92] According to Martin Homza, this discrepancy can be explained by the existence of two traditions: one related to the battle of the Rákos River near Bánhida, in which Svatopluk was killed, according to Simon of Kéza; and the other regarding the city of Veszprém as the capital of Marót, who – again according to

88 *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 32; *Anonimowego notariusza Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 67; observations of Grzesik: ibidem, p. 67, footnote 98.

89 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 102 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 20].

90 See: Grzesik, "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna," pp. 98.

91 Interesting studies on relationships between the Hungarians and the Slavs after the fall of Great Moravia and the appropriation of dynastic traditions by the Slavic invaders were published by Ryszard Grzesik, "Czy w średniowiecznych kronikach węgierskich istniały dwa modele przekazu o rodzimych początkach?," in idem, *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis*, pp. 117–124 (discussion of the issue of Marót: pp. 119–121); idem, "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna," pp. 93–106 (discussion of the issue of Marót: pp. 98–100).

92 *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum*, p. 76.

the chronicler – was confused by some with his son.[93] According to Simon's account, the ruler died in a battle with the Hungarians, and this claim is consistent with the threads of the Czech tradition. Simon of Kéza briefly mentioned the gifts that the Hungarians offered to Svatopluk. This motif can also be found in *The Great Compilation of Hungarian Chronicles* from the fourteenth century that contains the story of how the Hungarians purchased Pannonia, its land, grass and water from Svatopluk in exchange for a horse, bridle and saddle. Then, the deceived ruler, fleeing from the Hungarian army, reportedly drowned in the Danube. Homza saw in this story traces of transforming information of hypothetical *gesta* of the Nitra princes into a "black legend", serving the interests of the Hungarian elite.[94]

The detail that seems to be the most interesting in the context of the Hungarian tradition is how Simon imagined the territories subordinate to the ruler: "Zvataplug filius Morot, princeps quidam in Polonia,[95] qui Bracta subiugando Bulgaris Messianisque imperabat, incipiens similiter in Pannonia post Hunnorum exterminium dominari"[96] (Zvataplug, the son of Marót, the prince in Poland, who subjugated Bracta and reigned as emperor of the Bulgarians and the Moravians, became the ruler of Pannonia, when the Huns were eliminated). Svatopluk's domain and his multi-part state resembles somewhat the complex structure of the Kingdom of the Slavs from *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. The reference that Svatopluk took over part of his empire after the fall of the Huns could be significant – although *Regnum Sclavorum* includes no references to the violent fall of the Dalmatian state of the Goths, the described situation was somewhat similar, as Svetopelek took over his realm as a legacy of the barbarian chieftains.

93 Homza, "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov," pp. 59–66.

94 *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.*, ed. Alexander Domanovszky, Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum vol. 1 (Budapest, 1937), pp. 288–291; Homza, "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov," pp. 59–89.

95 Svatopluk was also recognized as the prince (princeps) of Poland by the author of *The Great Compilation of Hungarian Chronicles* from the fourteenth century, and by Johannes de Thurocz at the end of the fifteenth century: *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.*, p. 288; Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, eds. Erzsébet Galántai, Gyula Kristó (Budapest, 1985), p. 331. See: Martin Homza, "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov (čierna a biela svätoplukovská legenda)," in idem et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve*, p. 84.

96 Homza, "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície," p. 74. The translator of Havlík's work identified Bracta with Brač (Latin: Bractia). However, it is more probable that the chronicler meant Bactria – a region in Central Asia known from the conquests by Alexander the Great, see: ibidem, p. 74, footnote 2.

The legend retold by the Priest of Duklja seems to share some of motifs with *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (known also as *The Tale of Bygone Years*). The authorship of this work is conventionally attributed to Nestor the Chronicler, though it probably contains an older text, titled by historians *The Moravian Chronicle* (or *The Moravian History of the Slavs*). It presented the vision of one Slavic nation (people), which included the Danubian Slavs, the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs [Lendians] and the Polyanians (i.e. inhabitants of Ruthenia ["who are now called Russes"]). According to another earlier variant of this legend in *The Primary Chronicle*, the Slavic people included the Czechs, the Moravians, the Serbs, the White Croats, Carantanians and a number of Lyakhan and Ruthenian tribes. Interestingly, *The Primary Chronicle* is the only medieval work from outside the Adriatic region using the enigmatic term "White Croatia", appearing in *Regnum Sclavorum* – probably in relation to some southern (not northern) tribal organization. After early hagiographies of "Apostles to the Slavs", *The Primary Chronicle* repeated information that the rulers of the Slavs, "Rostislav, Kotsel and Svyatopolk", sent envoys to the emperor Michael which resulted in Constantine and Methodius' mission in Moravia.[97] While writing about the land of the Moravians, the chronicler adds an interesting statement: "For in that region is Illyricum, whither Paul first repaired and where the Slavs originally lived".[98]

The above examples show that the figure of Svetopelek was able to generate legendary motifs detached from the legend of Constantine. The first preserved traces of the worship of the "Apostles to the Slavs" in Croatia date back to the beginning of the fourteenth century[99] and although it had certainly been developing in this area much earlier, it is perhaps no accident that we can find Svetopelek's name in the sources from a similar period. It is difficult to state without any doubt which texts were used by the Priest of Duklja when he was writing his narrative about the ruler. The name "Svetopelek", it seems, originally belonged to the legend of Constantine, and was soon "overgrown" with quite a different narrative, one about the founder of the dynasty, and about the king who actually established the Kingdom of the Slavs. As we shall see later in the present work, the motif of Svetopelek was related above all with the Synod in Dalma. It is difficult to find any links between the description of this event in *Regnum Sclavorum* and its possible prototypes in any of the legends

97 Nestor, *Powieść minionych lat*, trans. and ed. Franciszek Sielicki (Wrocław, 1968), pp. 26–30. *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, trans. and eds. Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1953), p. 63.

98 Quoted after: *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, p. 63.

99 Biserka Grabar, "Kult Ćirila i Metodija u Hrvata," *Slovo: časopis Staroslovenskoga instituta u Zagrebu* 36 (1986), pp. 141–145.

about Constantine and Methodius. We will probably never be able to reconstruct the development of the hypothetical text of *The Dalmatian Legend*. We do not know whether a description of a great ordering congress could have been part of such a narrative. There are many indications that this motif was independent of the first part of the narrative, i.e. the account of the baptism of the ruler of the Slavs and Constantine's mission. While the motif of the synod might be inspired by reports about ecclesiastical councils in Split in which the Croatian ruler Tomislav and Michael the prince of Hum participated, the narrative about Constantine's activities clearly shows the influence of literature from outside Dalmatia, probably from Bohemia or Ohrid.

4 The King and the Saint: Constantine's Participation in the Christianization of the Kingdom of the Slavs

The story of Constantine appeared in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* as an added motif. The Priest of Duklja approached this issue twice. The first part of the account of the missionary's activity started with the sentence "Temporibus huius floruit, ut rosa, ex civitate Thessalonica qui dam philosophus Constantinus nomine, filius cuiusdam Leonis patricii [...]" (In those days, a philosopher named Constantine of the city of Thessalonica, the son of a patrician Leon, blossomed like a rose),[100] and for the most part this described Svetomir's rule. After concise information about the death of the king and the takeover of power by his son, Svetopelek, the chronicler introduced Constantine into the direct context of the history of the Kingdom of the Slavs.

In *Regnum Sclavorum*, the figure of Constantine is primarily linked with the issue of the baptism of the Slavs. Havlík, as was already mentioned, considered the entire narrative about Svetopelek as a remnant of *The Dalmatian Legend* (the alleged work about the saint preserved only in fragments included in the text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*). It should be noted, however, that the thread of Constantine's mission in *Regnum Sclavorum* ends before the narration about the Synod in Dalma begins. The last reference to Constantine in the Priest of Duklja's work is information about his resumed journey to Rome. Starting the narrative with the words "Tempore ipso ..." [In this time ...][101] could mean that he was moving away from the influence of the tradition of Cyril and Methodius on the general shape of the story; or at least it would have done if after this caesura the chronicler had not mentioned a mysterious

100 *Ljetopis*, p. 48.
101 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

volume: "librum Sclavorum qui dicitur *Methodius*" (the Slavic book which is called *Methodius*).[102]

It is not known what exactly *Methodius* was. The Croatian version stated that *Methodius* was the name of the books which "pri Hrvatih ostaše" (remained with the Croats).[103] According to opinion prevailing in older historiography, it could have been a set of laws from which the Priest of Duklja got information about decisions of the Synod in Dalma. Both Luka Jelić[104] and Vjekoslav Klaić[105] were convinced that it was a codex or a set of documents describing the division and territorial organization of the Croatian territories. In this case, the title of the book would make no reference to the figure of Methodius, the brother of Constantine, but rather to the word "method", i.e. the way of organizing a state. The hypothesis of the juridical nature of the work mentioned by the Priest of Duklja was developed by Marko Kostrenčić, who supposed that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* could mean *The Nomocanon of John Scholasticus* translated into Slavic, perhaps by Constantine or Methodius.[106]

The way ecclesiastical organization was presented in the description of the synod (especially the remark that archbishops and bishops were not entitled to administer territories other than their own) could indeed refer to certain regulations of *The Nomocanon*. It cannot be ruled out that the Priest of Duklja knew one of the translations of Greek legal texts attributed to Methodius.[107]

Šišić, as usual, interpreted the remark about the book as a later interpolation. He also associated the title of the work with Methodius and assumed that the Priest of Duklja was inspired by his Slavic hagiography.[108] In fact, it is difficult to resist the temptation of linking the alleged source of information about the Synod with the legend of Constantine presented in a previous section of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Radojčić believed that it was impossible to say whether *Methodius* was a set of legal documents, hagiography, or some other type of texts.[109] Mošin also did not rule out any of these options.[110] Živković drew attention to the narrative of Sicard of Cremona, an Italian historian from the turn of the twelfth century, who referred to the enigmatic *Chronicle of*

102 *Ljetopis*, p. 56.
103 *Ljetopis*, p. 56.
104 Luka Jelić, "Duvanjski Sabor," *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, 1 (1909), vol. 10, pp. 135–136.
105 Vjekoslav Klaić, "Narodni Sabor i krunisanje kralja na Duvanjskom polju," *Zbornik Matice hrvatske o tisućoj godišnjici Hrvatskog kraljevstva*, ed. Filip Lukas (Zagreb, 1925), pp. 3–18.
106 Marko Kostrenčić, *Hrvatska pravna povijest* (Zagreb, 1923), pp. 294–296.
107 Halvík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 136–140.
108 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 131–136.
109 Radojčić, "Šišić F., Letopis Popa Dukljanina," pp. 168–178.
110 Mošin, "Uvod," in Ljetopis, p. 30.

Bishop Methodius, unidentified by scholars.[111] Marko Petrak summed up the discussion. He cautiously assumed that the book mentioned in both versions of *The Chronicle* was indeed St. Methodius' *Nomocnanon*. Its presence in medieval Croatia seems to be confirmed. The book was supposedly divided into the part devoted to the canon law and civil law. Both would be translations of works by John Scholasticus, the sixth-century patriarch of Constantinople, although not his *Nomocanon* but *Sinagoge L Titulorum* and *Ecloga* (i.e. *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*).[112] Still, on the basis of *Regnum Sclavorum* itself the problem of *Methodius* remains unsolved.

On the other hand, some information about Constantine in *Regnum Sclavorum* was typical. Many characteristic details, such as the mention of the Christianization of the Bulgarians (and its place in the narrative), the knowledge of the name of Constantine's father (Leo), the name given to Constantine upon becoming a monk (Cyril), and the honorific title *doctor* (used by the Priest of Duklja while referring to him), had analogies in the medieval literature of the tradition of Cyril and Methodius. On the basis of a comparative analysis of these types of characteristic elements, Havlík was still unable to determine whether the hypothetical *Dalmatian Legend* was influenced only by early Great Moravian texts, or rather the Ohrid and Czech literature. Accepting a very early date of formation for *Regnum Sclavorum*, Havlík even speculated about the alleged back impact of the Dalmatian tradition on Czech literature, which seems unlikely.

Ludwig Steindorff attempted to limit the circle of possible sources for the narrative of *The Chronicle* to Latin texts. He suggested that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* had access to some lost version of the Latin hagiography entitled *Vita Constantini*, also known as "the Italian legend". This version, which refers to Pope Stephen, might combine certain elements of two existing variants of *Vita Constantini*: the Prague manuscript (Rostislav replaced by Savtopluk) and the Vatican manuscript, not mentioning the names of contemporary popes (the Prague manuscript mentions Nicholas and Hadrian). On the basis of information about the Christianization of Bulgarians and several other

111 "… Monachus quidam monasterii Montis S. Disibodi multos locos excerpsit et ad verbum descripsit ex libro chronicorum Methodii episcopi": *Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis Cronica*, p. 62. See: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 159.

112 Petrak also mentioned that in some areas the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*, which was written at the end of the seventh century, was named *Liber Methodius*. See: Marko Petrak, "Liber Methodius between the Byzantium and West: Traces of the Oldest Slavonic Legal Collection in Medieval Croatia," in *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, eds. Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, Trpimir Vedriš (Leiden/Boston, 2018), pp. 213–224.

detailed remarks, Steindorff did not exclude the possibility that the Dalmatian tradition was also influenced by the Czech tradition of *Vita s. Ludmillae et s. Venceslais* by the monk Christian.[113] Deficiencies in this hypothesis were demonstrated by Lujo Margetić. First, he stated that the existence of an unknown version of *Vita Constantinia* is pure speculation. Second, the details mentioned by Steindorff can be found not only in the Latin text by the monk Christian, but also for example in the Greek *Bios Klimentos*. Margetić, however, fell into a similar trap when he attempted to prove that it was the Ohrid centre that had a formative impact on the Dalmatian tradition about Constantine.[114]

Neither Steindorff nor Margetić were interested in the figure of Svetopelek as it was known from *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. Moravian Svatopluk was depicted quite negatively both in *Bios Klimentos* and in *Vita s. Ludmillae et s. Venceslais*. Therefore, it is doubtful that the Priest of Duklja, knowing one of the proposed texts, decided to call the main character of his narrative "Svetopelek". The negative features of the Moravian prince in both above-mentioned works were a result of his dispute with Methodius. It is significant that in the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, there is no mention of Constantine's brother. This was probably due to the negative image of Methodius in medieval Dalmatia. The Latin part of the Catholic clergy did not respect Constantine's brother, and even considered him a heretic. The "black legend" of Methodius became part of the propaganda actions related to the dispute over the scope of the use of the Slavic language and script in ecclesiastical liturgy.

Thomas the Archdeacon had a negative attitude to users of the Glagolitic script and linked Methodius' activity with Arian heresy. He wrote: "Dicebant enim, Goticas litteras a quodam Methodio heretico fuisse repertas, qui multa contra catholice fidei normam in eadem Sclavonica lingua mentiendo conscripsit. Quam ob rem divino iudico repentina dicitur morte fuisse dampnatus" (For they said that a certain heretic called Methodius had devised a Gothic alphabet, and he perniciously wrote a great deal of falsehood against the teaching of the Catholic faith in the same Slavic language. On account of this, he is said to have been condemned by divine judgement to a swift end).[115] The circumstances of Methodius's death presented in *Historia Salonitana* – and, according to the author, being a manifestation of God's justice – were a clear

113 Ludwig Steindorff, "'Liber Methodius'. Überlegungen zur kyrillomethodianischen Tradition bei Priester von Dioclea," *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 8 (1986), pp. 157–173.

114 Lujo Margetić, "'Liber Methodius' i pitanje vrela devete glave Ljetopisa Popa Dukljanina," *Časopis Instituta za crkvenu povijest Katoličkog bogoslovnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 24 (2000), vol. 46, pp. 1–9.

115 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 78–79.

allusion to the image of the miserable end of Arius himself. Thomas claimed that Cededa, another supporter of the Glagolitic script, had died in a similarly infamous way and commented on that fact as follows: "Ec sic homo impius Arrianam imitatus perfidiam, iusto Dei iudico ignominiosa Arrii morte dampnatus est" (And thus this impious man, the follower of Arian faithlessness, was condemned by the just judgement of God to the same ignominious death as Arius).[116] The negative attitude of the Latin clergy in Dalmatia to Methodius is also confirmed by copies of letters by Pope John X among the documents of the synod in Split, which probably took place in 925. We can find there the reference "ad Methodii doctrinam confugiant, quem in nullo uolumine inter sacros auctores comperimus" (to the doctrine of Methodius, who cannot be found in any volume among the holy authors we are aware of). Other decisions of this synod also indicate the active operations of some part of the clergy directed against the use of Slavic language in ecclesiastical liturgy.[117]

According to Hrvoje Gračanin and Marko Petrak the very expression *Methodii doctrina* may not have had a precise liturgical meaning. It first appeared in *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* from the 9th century (*doctrina Methodii philosophi*). It is most likely that the phrase was coined by the episcopal centre in Salzburg during the idealogical struggle against Methiodius. These tensions may have spread to the territory of Dalmatia quite early on. From the so-called *Excerptum de Karentanis*, from the turn of the twelfth century, we learn that the Methodius came to Carinthia precisely from the territories of Istria and Dalmatia ("… supervenit quidam Sclavus ab Hystrie et Dalmatie partibus nomine Methodius"[118]) but he was expelled from Carinthia and headed to Moravia.[119]

In this situation, it is quite probable that the Priest of Duklja, in his effort to avoid controversy, completely removed the figure of Methodius from the narrative about king Svetopelek. Some of his features could be attributed to his brother, Constantine, who – according to *Regnum Sclavorum* – translated the Gospels, the Psalter and the rest of the books of the New and Old Testaments into the Slavic language. The ambiguous image of the mission to the Slavs could result in splitting the process of Christianization of the Kingdom of the Slavs

---

116 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 86–87.

117 *Documenta*, no. 149 a, p. 188; about the significance of the letters: Radoslav Katičić, "Methodii doctrina," *Slovo* 36 (1986), pp. 11–44.

118 *Excerptum de Karentanis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. MGH SS 11 (Hannover, 1854), p. 15.

119 Hrvoje Gračanin, Marko Petrak, "The Notion of the Methodii Doctrina in the Context of the Church Synod of Split (AD 925)," in *The Byzantine Missionary Activity and Its Legacy in Europe. Proceedings of the 4th Symposium "Days of Justinian I", Skopje 11–12 November, 2016*, ed. Mitko B. Panov (Skopje, 2017), pp. 28–42.

between two figures. Constantine baptized Svetopelek on his way to Rome. This process, however, required completion. In many medieval texts, organizing local ecclesiastical structures was credited to Methodius. It is possible that this thread was symbolically replaced by the description of the activities of the papal legate, Honorius, whose actions sanctioned Constantine's mission.

In the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the Christianization of the kingdom was strictly related to Constantine's mission. The reasons for the baptism were seemingly quite accidental. The Priest of Duklja described Constantine's missionary activity among the Bulgarians, the papal summons and the journey to Rome: "Dum autem pergeret transiens per regnum regis Svetopelek honorifice ab eo susceptus est" (When he passed Svetopelek's kingdom, he was accepted by him with respect);[120] this is how the chronicler referred to the issue of Constantine's appearance in the royal estates. However, in this seemingly accidental arrival of the missionary, one can recognize the same element of historical necessity that led to the conquest of Dalmatia by the pagan Goths.

Svetopelek, the pagan king, was initially presented as a passive figure. In accordance with the new approach to the Christians begun by his father, the ruler accepted Constantine with due respect; he also listened to the Gospel and the teachings about the Holy Trinity. It should be noted, however, that Svetopelek did not show the initiative to be converted; his increased activity could be observed only after the baptism. It led to the convocation of the Synod in Dalma and to the invitation of the papal legates and imperial envoys.

There are certain typical motifs of medieval historiography in the way the process of Christianisation of the kingdom is presented in *Regnum Sclavorum*. The presence of the four evil rulers before the breakthrough corresponds with the vision of history presented by Cosmas, in which the legendary pagan dukes who ruled after Přemysl were slothful and infirm.[121]

According to *Regnum Sclavorum*, a similar period of "pagan lethargy" was finally changed by Constantine, a foreigner who – by a twist of fate, or rather by divine plan – passed through Svetopelek's kingdom. In this way, the Priest of Duklja used a widespread legend linking the baptism of Slavic communities with Constantine or Methodius' activities. The tale of the Christianization of Great Moravia left a mark in the historiography of many neighbouring lands. These narratives were often only loosely based on historical events. Cosmas, the Prague-based chronicler, believed that the baptism of Bořivoj, the duke of Bohemia, was the result of Methodius' activities.[122] In the same context,

120 *Ljetopis*, p. 49.

121 See: Deptuła, *Mit genezy Polski Galla Anonima*, pp. 202–203.

122 *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 10, p. 18; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, p. 14.

The Chronicle of Dalimil refers to "Mutudej", considered to be an archbishop from Ruthenia.[123] The relationship between Constantine's mission and the baptism of the Bulgarians was primarily emphasized by the Ohrid tradition. Another hypothesis, quite controversial, can be mentioned here: its supporters speculated that the legend of two strangers visiting the court of duke Popiel – present, among others, in Gallus Anonymus' chronicle – could be a trace of Constantine and Methodius' actual activities in the state of Polans.[124] As can be seen, according to old Ragusian chronicles, in 813, Cyril baptized not only all the Bulgarians, but also the Bosnians, converting them to the Catholic faith.[125]

In the legends of the Christianization of Slavonic communities, the figure of the missionary was brought to the fore. In the narration of *Regnum Sclavorum*, however, the role of the ruler was not completely underestimated. Constantine's teachings had to meet with the interest and kind acceptance of the king. The Priest of Duklja tried to give Constantine necessary authority, and therefore he wove into his narration several references to the activities of the missionary among the Bulgarians and in Khazaria. In this way, the chronicler made an impression that the man received at Svetopelek's court was an extraordinary character who had already made a positive impact on the Christian world several times. The ruler let him speak and he listened to his teachings; Constantine's erudition and the fact that he was "a man of God" allowed his words to bring the desired effect. In the description provided by the Priest of Duklja, the roles adopted by both the main figures are clear: "Tunc vir dei Constantinus, cui nomen postea Kyrillus a papa Stephano impositum est, quando consecravit eum monacum, caepit praedicare regi evangelium Christi et fidem sanctae trinitatis. Ad cuius praedicationem rex Svetopelek creditit Christo et babtizatus est cum omni regno suo et effectus est orthodoxus et verus sanctae trinitatis cultor" (At the time, Constantine, a man of God – who, later, when Pope Stephen ordained him to be a monk, was given the name Cyril – began to preach the Gospel of Christ and the faith in the Holy Trinity to the king. King Svetopelek listened to his teachings and began to believe in Christ and was baptized with all his kingdom and becoming an orthodox and true worshiper of the Holy Trinity).[126] The first sign of Svetopelek's prudence was the fact that he received Constantine and recognized in him a man worthy of esteem and honour. The ruler also made the decision about the baptism,

123 *Rýmovaná Kronika Česká*, chapter 23, pp. 40–41.

124 See: Deptuła, *Mit genezy Polski Galla Anonima*, p. 227.

125 "di santo Kirillo monaco, qual battizó tutti li Bulgari et Bosnensi alla cattolica fede", see: Havlík, *Dubrovnické kroniky*, p. 198.

126 *Ljetopis*, p. 49.

although it was the result of persuasion by the missionary, who explained the church creed to Svetopelek and then strengthened his faith. The first decision by Svetopelek – about the access of his kingdom to the group of Christian realms – let him be an active political player.

In the passage quoted above, the name of Pope Stephen, mentioned seemingly without connection, perhaps did not appear by accident. We do not know exactly who the Priest of Duklja was, but – contrary to Thomas the Archdeacon and the part of the Latin clergy of Dalmatian cities represented by him – he certainly did not harbour strong resentment toward the Slavs and their liturgy. The reference to direct relations between Constantine and the pope could be used by the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* to legitimize the missionary activities in Svetopelek's state, and this effect was even strengthened by emphasizing the orthodox attitude of the converted ruler.

The circumstances in which Svetopelek was baptized could have raised many doubts in medieval Dalmatia. The Priest of Duklja, linking the fortunes of the Kingdom of the Slavs with Constantine's activity, represented a specific vision of the Christianization of these areas. In this vision, the impact of Rome on the developments was marginalized, and the role of coastal ecclesiastical centres – above all Split – was completely omitted from the narrative. The claim by the Priest of Duklja that Christianity reached Svetopelek's state through Constantine was at least controversial for a part of the Latin clergy. Thomas the Archdeacon – who can be considered a representative of the views of the Latins inhabiting Dalmatian cities – presented the Christianization of the Slavs in completely different manner. In his work, the Slavic liturgy is a synonym of heresy, and Methodius is clearly a negative figure.

The Priest of Duklja, aware of the controversial aspects of such a message, decided to take the wind out of the sails of his potential critics. He not only mentioned the relationship between Constantine and the pope twice, but also presented some specific consequences of his missionary activity. The conversion of the ruler brought joy to Svetopelek's entire kingdom, and the first beneficiaries of the new order were – quite obviously – the Christians. The chronicler, who identified them with the Latin population of the kingdom, described in this passage their descent from the mountains and their abandonment of the thicket: "Post haec Svetopelek rex iussit christianis, qui latina utebantur lingua, ut reverterentur unusquisque in locum suum et reaedificarent civitates et loca, quae olim a paganis destructa fuerunt" (Then King Svetopelek commanded those Christians who used Latin to return to their country and rebuild the cities and places once destroyed by the pagans).[127] Such an image

127 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

could have had a polemical character. By demonstrating that the Latins were the first beneficiaries of Constantine's mission, the Priest of Duklja could show the ingratitude and myopia of those of them who attacked the direction of these changes, and even associated the activities of Slavic clergy with heresy. On the other hand, the style of his narrative does not suggest strong polemical tendencies – contrary to, for example, Thomas the Archdeacon, who firmly expressed his opinions and positions even at the level of rhetoric.

The theme of "encouragement" in faith could have appeared in the description of the Synod in Dalma for a similar purpose. The publicized reason for convening a general congress was the desire to organize the state and restore its former privileges; however, the efforts to legitimize it in the religious aspect as well seem to be no less important in the narrative. Asked for *antiqua privilegia*, Pope Stephen turned out to be pleased that he was given the opportunity to encourage the young king in his faith by sending him advisers. Most of the twelve days of the synod were dedicated to religious themes: "in qua diebus octo de lege divina et sacra scriptura ac de statu ecclesiae tractatum est" (for eight days God's commandments, the Holy Scripture and the ecclesiastical issues were discussed).[128] In this way the Priest of Duklja, describing the two-step course of the start of the process of Christianization of the kingdom, finally neutralized any doubts on the part of the readers who might try to undermine the validity of Svetopelek's baptism by Constantine.

5 The Model of a King-Founder and the Origins of the Community during the Synod in Dalma

Totila and Ostroil's conquests led to the formation of a new structure built on the ruins of the previous Christian polities. The new kingdom was ruled by pagans, therefore in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* its beginning is marked with constant clashes between the Christians and their frequent persecutors: barbarian kings of Gothic origin. The Priest of Duklja seemed to emphasize this conflict. Although the dynasty of pagan rulers consolidated its power in the area that was conquered, there was still a long way to go to regulate the relations between the subjects and to achieve the social consensus needed for the harmonious existence of the community.

The situation was changed only as a result of Constantine's actions and his impact on the king's policy. Svetopelek's baptism resulted in joining his state to the circle of civilized countries. The Synod in Dalma, convened soon after,

128 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

completed the reforms of the kingdom. The Priest of Duklja presented the synod and its decisions in great detail, and there is no doubt that this event was of crucial importance for the state described by him. The events of the synod and the activities of the king can be seen as a bonding vision of the origins of the community, and not only – as in the case of the narrative about the arrival of the Goths – as a report about the beginning of a new power.

It is easy to see in the figure of Svetopelek the features characteristic of the model of a king-founder. This model is used particularly often in the process of structural analysis of source narratives. The concept itself was developed on the basis of the theory of the threefold division of Indo-European societies suggested by Georges Dumézil. The image of a ruler-founder integrated all three aspects, partially bearing the features assigned to particular models: *rex orator*, *rex bellator* or *rex arator*,[129] linked with (1) the function of priest and sovereign, (2) warfare and (3) wealth and fertility. The record about the formation of the community in Svetopelek's state, however, does not have any distinctive myth-imitating features that would lead to the assumption that it was deeply rooted in pre-Christian legends about the origins of the community, legends that probably existed among inhabitants of Dalmatia.

Jacek Banaszkiewicz, however, showed the way in which certain unconscious archetypal structures could be used in the creation of completely new messages, bearing features of an erudite tale about a legendary past. The legend of Svetopelek was one such annalistic narrative. Therefore, we will limit the context related to the model of a ruler-founder and omit many features of his possible cult or formative character which do not apply to this record. However, the process of founding the state will not be understood literally, as in building temples and castles. The model of *rex fundator* should rather be linked with Svetopelek's legislative activity and his efforts to create a new order that would permanently change the character of the kingdom.

Gábor Klaniczay showed that the model of a king-founder – rooted in the threefold division theory proposed by Dumézil – shared some characteristic features with the model of *rex iustus*. As an example of such a ruler, Klaniczay indicated the Hungarian King Stephen, and located the emergence of the literary ideal of a "righteous king" at the turn of the eleventh century. He identified the concept of *rex iustus* with a certain model of a ruler associated with the specific aspect of sanctity. Its basis was the piety of a ruler and his apostolic activities aimed at propagating Christian values. This educational context was complemented by special care for ecclesiastical institutions.[130]

129 See: Banaszkiewicz, *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu.*

130 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 114–155.

The scope of reforms implemented by Svetopelek was also particularly related to the Church. The order, being a foundation cementing the religion, the king and the subjects, would be consolidated during his reign. Through his baptism, Svetopelek not only changed the situation in the state by establishing a proper relationship with the Christians living on the coast, but also restored the old law, re-delineated the state borders and introduced the administrative and ecclesiastical division of his lands. As a result of his activities, royal authority gained a new dimension: it was no longer based on the violence and conquest imposed by the will of the Gothic conquerors, but was closely linked with the law. From the time of the Synod in Dalma, the authority of the kings of the Slavs had well-ordered and strictly delimited foundations, which – as it can be guessed from the text of *Regnum Sclavorum* – resulted also from the social consensus and consent of the participants of the synod. Svetopelek, in contrast to his predecessors, was able to offer his subjects a state-building programme, thanks to which he managed to unite the groups inhabiting these areas, groups which up to then had only been loosely related.

Svetopelek's realm gained its symbolic centres: one on the plain of Dalma, and the other in the church of St. Mary in Dioclea, where the tomb of the king was later located. The text emphasized the change in the community from being a savage one, living *sine lege et rege* [without law and king], to becoming a new kind of community with the subjects of the king living in cities. The Priest of Duklja wrote that after Svetopelek's baptism, the Latins "descendentes de montanis et locis abditis, quo dispersi errant, caeperunt nomen domini laudare et benedicere, qui salvos facit sperantes in se" (descended from the mountains and hiding places in which they sought shelter, and began to praise and worship the name of the Lord who saves those who are faithful to him).[131]

In one of the next chapters of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the Slavs were again presented as savage barbarians living in the mountains and persecuting the Latins who had escaped there. However – as has already been mentioned – this particular passage was probably strongly inspired by an older (perhaps textual) tradition. Moreover, it was an exception, because it concerned the time of the fall of the kingdom. In the fragment devoted to Svetopelek, we can recognize the actual renewal of the community by uniting two groups, the Slavs and the Latins, that used to be separated from each other.

Such an action also had a symbolic and even sacred dimension. It is linked both to the myth-generating properties of legends about the beginnings of a community, and to merging the order of power and the norms in the institution of the king. In his description of the synod, the chronicler presented the

131 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

king as a legislator using – probably unintentionally – numerous topoi which were characteristic of narratives about cult heroes or legendary rulers creating new orders. As a result, the structure of this fragment of narrative may bring associations with "updated" and "erudite" implementation of the common pattern typical of stories about the origins of communities.

6 Space and Authority: the Centre and Boundaries in the Process of Creating the Kingdom during the Synod in Dalma

Svetopelek's role as the king-legislator became the most visible of the acts of the Synod in Dalma. The participants of the synod, according to the Priest of Duklja, for most of the meeting were involved in religious disputes and deliberations. Only the last four days were devoted to strictly political issues, and at that time the king could present himself as a ruler creating a new order in the state.

The pursuit of reform was at the root of the synod. After the introduction of the Kingdom of the Slavs to Christendom, the delineation of proper state borders became the most pressing problem for Svetopelek. This issue of measurable space was at the same time linked with the symbolic range of the ruler's authority. A king could bestow the laws to the land subordinated to him only if he knew its geographical limits. Therefore, the ceremony of coronation and the symbolic inauguration of the king which took place on the plain of Dalma were completed by delineation of the area subjected to the new authority together with its administrative division and binding principles.

In fact, Svetopelek's reforms should be seen as a restitution of the old foundations of power. The king's actions were supported by the prestige of ancient charters. Thanks to this agency the kingdom itself gained more noble sources, supported by the authority of the pope and the emperor, and, last but not least, the authority of the script. From the Priest of Duklja's description, it can be deduced that the script turned out to be necessary for the renewal of boundaries and the delineation of particular parts of the state:

> Placuit etiam regi, ut temporibus suis rememorarentur ac recordarentur seu scriberentur termini ac fines omnium provinciarum ac regionum regni sui, quatenus unaquaeque sciret atque cognosceret fines et terminos provinciarum et regionum suarum. Congregans igitur omnes sapientes regni sui, locutus est eis de verbo hoc, sed nullus eo tempore inventus est, qui certam responsionem daret regi de hac re[132]

132 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

> (The king also decided that during his reign the estates and borders of all the provinces and districts of his kingdom should again be reminded and described, so that all the people of each province and each district would know and distinguish their estates and borders. Therefore he gathered all the wise men of his kingdom, informing them of this decision, but there was no one who could give the king a clear answer).

We know that the king began the process of delineation of estates by gathering the *omnes sapientes* – the term meaning old and sagacious men respected by the community, probably synonymous to the *antiqui seniores* mentioned in the introduction.[133] The Priest of Duklja claimed that they were his source of information. This hypothesis is confirmed indirectly by the text of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, where the phrase "omnes sapientes regni sui" was replaced by "sve starce i mudarce gospodarstva svoga" (all the elders and wise men of his realm).[134]

The memory of older people stores facts from the distant past. In the Middle Ages, when written documents were scarce, the memory of the elders could be conclusive in cases of dispute. Thus, old people were, in a sense, guardians of the collective memory. Their assistance was a typical element of the activities of establishing and renewing borders,[135] and their role in delineation of the boundaries, finding boundary mounds or stones, is widely attested throughout Europe at that time.[136] In the area of Croatia and Dalmatia, in the Middle Ages and the early modern era, the role of the elderly in the establishment and execution of law can be noted in the comments of codes and legislative collections on the subject of the institution of *starac* (elder). As Franjo Smiljanić mentioned: "*Verpinski, Moščenički, Kastarski* and *Trsatski zakonik*, as well as the text of *Istarski razvod*, and some judgements of the courts in Verpin and Trsat, mentioned people called *stareji*, *starii*, *starejeh*, *stareh* or *stariih* (as in the preface of *Vinodolski zakonik*), which is a comparative form of the noun 'elder' and means more than one, perhaps even an advisory council of elders".[137] This type of advisory body probably also worked at the ban court in Knin. One of

133 *Ljetopis*, p. 39.
134 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.
135 Stanisław Bylina, *Drogi – granice – most. Studia* (Warsaw 2012), pp. 43–89.
136 Jacques Le Goff, *Historia i pamięć* (Warsaw, 2007), pp. 128–129; Grzegorz Myśliwski, "Pamiętnicy. Ludzie sędziwi jako źródła wiedzy o przeszłości na ziemiach polskich (do XVI w.)," in *Europa barbarica, Europa christiana. Studia mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, ed. Roman Michałowski (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 113–126.
137 Franjo Smiljanić, *Studije o srednjovjekovnim slavenskim/hrvatskim institucijama* (Zadar, 2010), p. 98.

its judgements issued in 1367 referred to the "homines antiquos Crohacie" who took part in the judicial process.[138]

The case of resolving the dispute between the inhabitants of the two cities of Bakar and Grobnik in 1677 shows what the process of "recalling and describing the lands or borders" could look like in practice. In order to delineate the balk, two representatives of the mentioned cities were called: older people who were supposed to read the old charters and "confirm" the boundaries established in 1455.[139] Of course, it was impossible in this case that anyone would remember those lines demarcated almost two centuries before. To the local community, however, it was clear that the elderly people, thanks to their experience and memory, were best suited to describe and recreate the permanent, commonly accepted elements of legal space.

Nevertheless, despite the hopes of King Svetopelek, the *sapientes* of his land were not able to give him the desired answers. The fact that there was no one in the entire kingdom who could describe the borders of the country to the ruler testified to the collapse of the realm during the reign of the pagan kings. In this situation, defining the shape of the kingdom demanded an external completion – just like in the case of the baptism.

As was mentioned above, the most important reason for convening the synod was simply the necessity to seek information about the state borders in the old registers and charters. The Priest of Duklja left no doubt as to the motives of convening the council:

> Tunc rex dei sapientia plenus, sano utens consilio, misit sapientes ac nobiles viros legatos ad venerabilem et apostolicum virum, papam Stephanum, et ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanae urbis Michaelem, rogans et petens, quatenus antique privilegia, quibus termini et fines provinciarum ac regionum seu terrarum scripti continebantur, mittere cum viris sapientissimis dignarentur.[140]
>
> (The king, inspired by God's wisdom and sound reason, sent wise and illustrious men as envoys to the venerable man and apostle, Pope Stephen, and to Michael, the emperor of the city of Constantinople, with a plea and a request to send him – through wise men – old documents containing descriptions of the estates and borders of the provinces, districts and lands).

138 Josip Kolanović, "Hrvatsko običajno pravo prema ispravama XIV. i XV. stoljeća," *Arhivski vjesnik* 36 (1993), pp. 95–97.

139 Smiljanić, *Studije o srednjovjekovnim slavenskim/hrvatskim institucijama*, p. 105.

140 *Ljetopis*, p. 50.

The participation of imperial envoys and papal legates in the act of re-measuring the boundaries of the Kingdom of the Slavs could not be overestimated. Using their advice and old charters brought by them, Svetopelek reorganized the state on the model of civilized Christian kingdoms. Moreover, the Priest of Duklja presented the division into secular and ecclesiastical provinces in a way that suggested a return to ancient times. The new territorial regulation also led to a symbolic restoration of the legal mechanisms from the period before the invasion of the Goths.

Although the Priest of Duklja did not write this directly, the very location of the archdioceses in Svetopelek's kingdom indicated the willingness to recreate the model situation from the period of the beginnings of Christianity in this area. New archiepiscopal sees were established in Salona and Dioclea. Presumably, both these cities had been previously destroyed by the Goths.[141] The chronicler wrote that "et ecclesiae, quae destructae erant et violatae manebant, reaedeficatae et consecratae sunt" (and the churches that had been destroyed and remained in ruins, were rebuilt and consecrated again).[142] The episcopal sees were thus re-established in the places that had been affected during the invasion. Reconstructing church buildings and their subsequent consecrations were at the same time an action for the renewal of the former ecclesiastical organization. The king, completing his covenant with the new religion, became its special protector: any infringement against the Church would be an insult to the royal crown.[143]

Therefore, Svetopelek completed the process of consolidation of both previously divided communities of his state: the Latins (who were the Christians) and the Slavs (although it is unknown whether all of them were pagans, they certainly constituted the background of pagan rulers of the Goths). At the same time he restored primary peaceful relations between the inhabitants – and both groups benefited from this situation. Immediately after his baptism, the king ordered the Latins to return to the cities on the coast. Although the Priest of Duklja did not specifically emphasize this fact, the old Adriatic cities became the main centres of ecclesiastical administration.

The chronicler listed them in another place, noting that the decisions were made "consensu domini papae Stephani et legatorum eius" (in agreement with the venerable Pope Stephen and his legates).[144] The archiepiscopal see in Salona was subject to "Spalatum, Tragurium, Scardonam, Arausonam, quod nunc est castellum Jadrae, Enonam, Arbum, Absarum, Veglam et Epitaurum,

141 Although only the Croatian version informed explicitly about the destruction of Salona.
142 *Ljetopis*, p. 53.
143 *Ljetopis*, p. 53.
144 *Ljetopis*, p. 54.

quod nunc dicitur Ragusum",[145] on similar principles – "pro iure antique" (in accordance with the ancient law) – Dioclea was made the centre of the other Dalmatian archdiocese with the following bishoprics: "Antibarum, Buduam, Ecatarum, Dulcignum, Suacium, Scodram, Drivastum, Poletum, Sorbium, Bosonium, Tribunium, Zaculmium".[146]

The borders of the Dioclean archdiocese are still the subject of dispute. Most of the centres listed in *Regnum Sclavorum* as subject to its jurisdiction for a substantial part of the twelfth century in fact belonged to the Archbishopric of Ragusa, and these can be confirmed by the evidence of papal bulls and correspondence with bishops of the Adriatic dioceses,[147] including, among others, two bulls of Callixtus II, both from September 28, 1120 (previously dated 1121). In the first, the borders of the archbishopric in Ragusa were specified, and in the second the Bishop of Dioclea (sometimes referred to as "Bishop of Upper Dalmatia" in the same document) was commanded to recognize the authority of the Archbishop of Ragusa.[148] Despite suspicions that both documents might be counterfeits, their authenticity is often accepted.

Another bull attributed to Callixtus II and addressed to the Archbishop of Dioclea or Bar – which in similar manner (specifying the same lands and episcopal sees) described the borders of not of the Ragusian but the Dioclean archdiocese – was certainly a forgery. The document listed among the centres belonging to the archbishopric: "ecclesiam Dioclitanam, Antibarensem, Buduensem, Ecatarensem, Dulchinensem, Svacinensem, Scodrensem, Drivastinensem, Polatinensem, Serbiensem, Bosoniensem, Tribensem cum omnibus suis pertinentiis ac monasteriis tam Latinorum quam Grecorum seu Sclavorum […]".[149] Šišić thought that the forgery was made in the middle of the twelfth century. He also noted that its style is surprisingly similar to the corresponding fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

---

145 "Split, Trogir, Scardona [Skradin], Arausona, which is now the castle Jadra [Zadar], Enona [Nin], Arba [Rab], Absar [Osor], Vegla [Krk] and Epitaurum, which is now called Ragusa [Dubrovnik]".

146 "Antibarum [Bar], Budva, Ecatarum [Kotor], Dulchinum [Ulcinj], Svacium [Šas/Svač], Scodrum [Shkodër], Drivastum [Drisht], Polat, Serbia, Bosonia [Bosnia], Tribunja, Zachlumia", *Ljetopis*, p. 54.

147 See: Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 57–59.

148 *Codex diplomaticus regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae* vol. 2, ed. Tadija Smičiklas (Zagreb, 1904), no. 34, pp. 3–35, no. 35, pp. 36–37 [hereafter cited as: *Codex diplomaticus*].

149 "Church of Dioclea, Antibarum [Bar], Budva, Ecatarum [Kotor], Dulchinum [Ulcinj], Svacinum [Šas/Svač], Scodrum [Shkodër], Drivastum [Drisht], Polat, Serbia, Bosonia [Bosnia], Tribunja with all of their properties and monasteries as well the Latin ones as the Greek and the Slavic". The text of the bull after: Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 138.

However, he could not establish whether the Priest of Duklja had used the forged bull directly, or whether he had rewritten the list of bishoprics subordinate to the Archbishop of Dioclea from some other source. Forms such as *Ecaterensem, Sorbiensem, Bosoniensem* present in *Regnum Sclavorum* corresponded with *Ecaterum, Sorbium, Bosonium* present in the bull,[150] which could indicate a rather direct connection between both pieces of the text.

The very form *Ecaterum* in reference to the city Kotor is particularly interesting. It was an archaic form, and the Priest of Duklja used it in the text only once; in other places we encounter newer variants of the name: *Decaterum* and *Catarum*. Some other names of dioceses belonging to Salonitan archbishoprics – such as *Enona*, instead of *Nona* (contemporary city of Nin) – also seem anachronistic for the High Middle Ages. The tendency to replace names of medieval centres by their supposed ancient counterpart – as in cases of *Arausona* (Zadar) and *Epitaurum* (Ragusa) – is also peculiar.[151]

Steindorff claimed that the narrative had preserved in this passage a trace of the report on the escape of the Latins and the relocation of ancient cities, reduced to one sentence. Information about the roots of Ragusa was repeated by the Priest of Duklja several times, but primarily in a long narrative legend about the reign of Pavlimir Bello. We can read about the ancient heritage of Jadra (Zadar) in the only verse (*Arausonam, quod nunc est castellum Jadrae*) – in fact the city is mentioned in *The Chronicle* only once, under this old name.[152] Using archaic nomenclature, the chronicler strengthened the vision of restoring rather than establishing the ecclesiastical organization in the Kingdom of Svetopelek. The king's task was restitution of a certain perfect state that had existed in a period of an unspecified beginning, and the measure of his wisdom was the fact that he sought counsel from the pope, who was the only one able to present the division of the church in the period before the pagan rule.

The fragment concerning the ecclesiastical organization in Svetopelek's realm is often analysed in the context of the dispute between the archdiocese of Ragusa and the episcopal (or archiepiscopal) see in Bar. In the prologue to *Regnum Sclavorum* the Priest of Duklja stated that he wrote his work at the request of the clergy from the see of the archdiocese of Dioclea (or, if we use the terminology of ecclesiastical documents, the archdiocese of Bar). If the chronicle was written there, it could have impacted the way

---

150 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 138–139.

151 Ludwig Steindorff, "Die Synode auf der Planities Dalmae. Reichsteilung und Kirchenorganisation im Bild der Chronik des Priesters von Dioclea," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 93 (1985), p. 297.

152 *Ljetopis*, p. 80.

the Salona–Dioclea dichotomy was presented, and could explain listing the rival centre in Epitaurum/Ragusa among suffragan dioceses subordinate to Salona. This view, however, seems to be erroneous for several reasons. First, the Croatian version is not prefaced with a similar text, and it does not contain a list of subordinate bishoprics, which suggests that this fragment could have been added later, while the division itself was part of a tradition not necessarily related to Bar. Secondly, the entire narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* does not confirm such a hypothesis, because the Church in Bar was not comprehensively discussed in the work.

To show the ancient roots of Zadar and Ragusa, the author used the Latin construction *quod nunc est* (which now is) or *quod nunc dicitur* (which now is called). With this expression, he summarized a more extensive plot about the establishment of new cities by the Latins who had survived the barbaric invasions.

The relationship between Arausona and Jadra may be regarded as an early version of the popular legend about the refugees from Biograd (Latin: Belgradum, ancient: Alba Maris, Italian: Zaravecchia) who founded Zadar. According to Steindorff, this legend should be placed among similar stories recorded by the Priest of Duklja: about refugees from Epidaurus and Ragusa, or about the links between Salona and Split.[153] However, in the entire text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, there is no explicit confirmation that its author – who knew the narrative about the fall of Salona – had accepted the legend of the ancient roots of Split[154] in the form in which the origins of the city were presented, for example, by *Historia Salonitana*.

In 1252, Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, the Bishop of Bar, was credited with the words of the old division of Dalmatia into two archbishoprics – Split and Bar – both being successors of ancient centres, respectively: Salona and Dioclea.[155] However, the Priest of Duklja did not emphasize such a connection, which is surprising, since he knew the less popular traditions of this type and had to be aware of the links between Salona and Split. Apart from the list of suffragan dioceses, the name "Spalatum" appeared in *Regnum Sclavorum* only once, and in a minor function.[156]

153 Steindorff, "Die Synode," p. 297. The Priest of Duklja used the name: Epidaurum. Both names were known to medieval authors.

154 It was considered as a certainty by Leśny, who in his translation of the text into Polish, did not put Split but Salona as the first on the list of cities belonging to Salonitan archdiocese. Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 71.

155 *Codex diplomaticus* vol. 4, no. 419, pp. 481–483.

156 *Ljetopis*, p. 98.

In the narrative by the Priest of Duklja, no mention can be found about Bar as the successor to the ancient city of Dioclea. Both cities were consistently separated in his work. In one of the later episodes the chronicler describes the place of one of the battles: "Dioclia, supra fluvium, qui Moracia dicitur" (Dioclea, on the river, which is called Morača),[157] and does not reminisce about Bar, which is not located upon the Morača. Links between Dioclea and Bar, and between Salona and Split can only be deduced from the analogy suggested by the sequence of suffragan dioceses mentioned in the text: in the case of the archiepiscopal see in Salona, the first of them was Split, while in the case of the archiepiscopal see in Dioclea, the first of them was Bar. In fact, the city of Bar appeared only a few times in *The Chronicle*, and the only representative of the Bar clergy it mentioned was Peter, referred to as "Antibarensis sedis archiepiscopus" (The archbishop of the see of Antibarum). This fragment is associated with the Duklja part of the work and does not appear in the Croatian version. Actually, this title contradicts the previously-used nomenclature, in which Dioclea was the seat of the metropolis.[158] Why did the author not mention such a connection clearly if he wanted to emphasize it – and why did he do it many times when referring to the nearby city of Ragusa? Although choosing Salona as an archiepiscopal see was, to a certain extent, justified in the previous parts of the text (where the city was considered to be the seat of the king of Dalmatians), there is no similar motif in relation to Dioclea. Perhaps the Priest of Duklja thought that the subject was so well known that he did not have to discuss in detail the history of the two most important ecclesiastical centres mentioned in his work. However, brief information about the history of Bar – and, as a result, passing over in silence the possible ambitions of the city – raises suspicions about the interpretation of this passage as a story that was primarily intended to represent the aspirations of the archbishopric of Bar, though such an approach is adopted in the historiography.

The ecclesiastical division of Svetopelek's state was not primarily motivated by the actual dispute between Bar and Ragusa. It was explicitly explained in the narrative that the diocesan division overlapped to some extent with the political one, which was designated according to the axis which was the place where the Synod was assembled – that is, according to the location of the plain of Dalma.

157 *Ljetopis*, p. 99.
158 *Ljetopis*, p. 96.

However, locating the plain of Dalma faces serious problems. In the historiography, Dalma was identified with the village of Duvno near Tomislavgrad. This view was quite firmly established and shared by, among others, Kukuljević Sakcinski[159] and Klaić.[160] Thanks to them, in the works on *Regnum Sclavorum*, the term *Duvanjsko polje* actually became a substitute for *planities Dalmae* used by the Priest of Duklja.

In this interpretation, Dalma would be identical with the Roman city of Delminium, the alleged place of an episcopal see in the early Middle Ages.[161] The tradition of the existence of this diocese was reproduced in the documents of the second Synod in Split which took place in 928, although we know them only from quotations in *Historia Salonitana maior* written in the early modern period,[162] and in information about the old episcopal see in Delminium preserved in the register known as *Provinciale vetus*. The date that this document was written is difficult to establish; according to it, *civitas Delmenia* belonged to the episcopal sees of Croatia and Dalmatia.[163] Thomas the Archdeacon mentioned the city of Delmis situated in the east, and wrote about the division of Sclavonia into two bishoprics. One of them was located in Sisak in the west, and the other in Delmis: "uidelicet ab oriente fuit episcopus delmitanus, unde Dalmatia dicta est; ab occidente fuit episcopus sciscianus, ubi beatus Quirinus martir quondam extit presul" (in the east the Bishop of Delmis, the town from which Dalmatia takes its name, and in the west the Bishop of Sisak, where Saint Quirinus the martyr had once been bishop).[164]

The memory of the ancient heritage of Delminium was revived in the Late Middle Ages. In Bosnia, in the first half of the fourteenth century, a titular bishopric was established, which until 1392 was described as *ecclesia Delmitensis*. Later sources also called it *Dulmnensis* (or in Croatian: *Duvanjska*).[165] Prior

159 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Tomislav prvi kralj hrvatski," *Rad JAZU* 58 (1879), pp. 1–52.

160 Klaić, "Narodni sabor i krunisanje kralja," pp. 1–18.

161 Ante Škergo, "Tobožnja Delminijska biskupija. The Alleged Diocese of Delminium," *Opvscvla archaeologica* 1 (2008), vol. 31, pp. 283–302.

162 *Historia Salonitana maior*, eds. Nada Klaić, Jorjo Tadić (Belgrade, 1967), p. 104. Certain bishop of Delminium (*episcopus delminense*) is also mentioned in the alleged document of the Split synod in 533, which is also preserved in this Early Modern work: ibidem, p. 83.

163 *Carolini scriptores qui in ecclesia latina floruere, B. Caroli Magni Imperatoris, opera omnia* [Patrologia Latina] vol. 98, ed. Jacques Paul Migne (Paris, 1862), column 466. Ante Škergo who doubted the existence of a bishopric see in Duvno identified *civitas Delmenia* as the city of Omiš: *Stari pokrajinski katalog ili Katalog provincije Opće crkve. Provinciale vetus sive Ecclesiae Universae Provinciarum Notitia* (Zagreb, 2005), pp. 15, 19.

164 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 58.

165 Dominik Mandić, "Duvanjska biskupija od XIV.–XVII. stoleća," *Croatia sacra* 5 (1935), pp. 1–98; Marijan Žugaj, "Hrvatska biskupija od 1352 do 1578. godine," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 10 (1986), no. 17, pp. 96–100.

to this period, the name "Delminium" was rather associated with a symbolic place, and the town of Duvno did not seem to play any role, either secular or ecclesiastical. The similar identification of Delminium with the plain of Dalma may be contradicted by the lack of information about establishing an episcopal see in this place in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

The source of the historiographical axiom linking Dalma and Delminium (Duvno) was probably the amendments that Marulić introduced to his translation of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*. The Croatian variant contains the first mention of Dalma, listed among the coastal cities destroyed by the Goths. The author of this version mentioned, in this context, Dalma, Narun, and Salona – conventionally described as "rich and beautiful" – as well as the city of Skardon (Skradin). However, this line is missing in Marulić's translation. Another confusing term in the Croatian version is, as has already been mentioned, the name "Hlivaj". In fact, the anonymous author of this version wrote about "mount Hlivaj" only when describing the opening of the synod. In the part referring to the division of the kingdom, the Croatian text – just like the Latin one – mentions the city of Dalma, destroyed by pagans. Marulić may have had a slightly different manuscript of the Croatian version – or perhaps he just speculated – and he changed "mount Hlivaj" into "campo qui Clivna nuncapantur" (the field which is called Clivna),[166] identifying it with the village of Livno, which is 25 km away from Duvno. The passage mentioning Dalma in the Croatian text was translated by him as "Delmini ruinae", meaning the ruins of the ancient city of Delminium, situated near Duvno, it is supposed today.[167] Steindorff noticed, however, that "we do not know the answer to the question of whether the author of the translation had Duvno in mind – which in his time was a place without meaning – or, as seems more probable, whether he gave an erudite explanation influenced by ancient authors".[168]

The narrative inaccuracies after this allow us to guess that the author of the Croatian text did not have a clue as to where exactly Dalma was located. This variant referred to "Hlivansko polje" once more in the passage corresponding to that in the Latin text which mentioned "planum Chelmo".[169] Steindorff, using examples of numerous fragments of *Regnum Sclavorum*,[170] showed that in this

166 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 396. Both names were known to Orbini, who, when describing the synod, noted in the margins of his translation of the Latin text: "Pianure di Dalma, hora chiamano Hlievno" (The plain of Dalma, now known as Hlievno): Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 220.

167 *Regvm Dalmatię atque Croatie gesta*, pp. 44; Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 398–399.

168 Ludwig Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia' u srednjovjekovnoj historiografiji. Istovremeno o saboru na 'Planities Dalmae'," in *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, p. 155.

169 *Ljetopis*, pp. 59–60.

170 *Ljetopis*, pp. 75, 77, 8889, 94, 99, 102; see: Steindorff, "Die Synode," p. 301, footnote 103.

work the name *Chelmania* was used to describe Hum.[171] Perhaps Hlivaj in the passage concerning the synod was a mistake by the author of the Croatian version, who misread "Dalma" as "Chelmia" in his sources. Actually, this problem with the location of the place arose as a result of a comparison of the two main variants of *The Chronicle* available today. However, it is absent when our focus is solely on the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, situating Dalma without this type of discrepancies.

The hypothesis that identifies Dalma as Bosnian Duvno is clearly inconsistent with the way the Priest of Duklja describes the division of the kingdom into archbishoprics and provinces. Miho Barada's idea, who – based on a hypothetical Illyrian toponym **Delmis* – suggested the location of Dalma near the city of Omiš[172] and not far from Split (in Latin sources called Almissium or Olmissium),[173] seems even less convincing today. Such a location, and Barada did not realize this, would be quite attractive due to the aforementioned connections of Omiš with the Kačić family and their possible influence on the narrative of *The Chronicle*. However, Barada's conclusions, founded mainly on etymology, were almost immediately discredited as "dilettante".[174] Regardless of this criticism, it should be noted that, above all, they are not coherent with the character of the text written by the Priest of Duklja.

In the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the plain of Dalma was a place with a special position. This time the Priest of Duklja emphasized that the secular division of Svetopelek's realm had been made on the basis of old charters: "Post haec secundum continentiam privilegiorum, quae lecta coram populo fuerant, scripsit privilegia, divisit provincias et regiones regni sui ac terminos et fines earum […]" (Then, according to the documents that were read before the people, [the king] wrote down privileges, divided provinces and regions of his kingdom and its boundaries and possessions). According to their guidelines, the king divided the Kingdom of the Slavs into two basic parts: Maritima and Surbia, also called Transmontana. The rivers that have their source in the mountains flow to the south or to the north and this difference was the basis of the division:[175] "secundum cursum aquarum, quae a montanis fluunt et intrant

171 Steindorff, "Die Synode," p. 301.

172 Barada, "Topografija Porfirogennetove Paganije," pp. 47–50.

173 As was observed by Steindorff, linguistic premises may equally point to Duvno as well as to Omiš, as the possible location of Dalma mentioned by the Priest of Duklja: "Die Synode," p. 302.

174 Petar Skok, "Ortsnamenstudien zu De administrando imperio des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogennetos," *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 4 (1928), p. 229, footnote 2.

175 The function of natural borders – such as mountains and rivers – in the Priest of Duklja's narrative was comprehensively discussed by Nikola Radojčić, "Društveno i državno

in mare contra meridianam plagam, Maritima vocavit; aquas vero, quae a montanis fluunt contra septentrionalem plagam et intrant flumen Donavi, vocavit Surbia" (the territory in the basin of rivers that flow from the mountains and enter the sea in the south he called Primorje, and the territory in the basin of rivers that flow from the mountains on the north side and join the great river Danube, he called Surbia).[176] Both main parts were divided into two smaller provinces: Maritima (or Primorje) consisted of Lower and Upper Dalmatia (White and Red Croatia respectively), while Surbia consisted of Bosnia and Raška. Svetopelek delineated the borders of the four provinces using specific landmarks: in Surbia, the border ran on the river Drina, while Dalma was the centre of Maritima (or, we can guess, of Dalmatia).

Such a location in the very centre of both coastal provinces probably corresponds with the literary legend of the city of Delmis – the eponymous centre of entire Dalmatia – which was popular in the Middle Ages.[177] In this case, the information came from ancient sources: the great centre of Delmion had already been mentioned by Strabo, and then by Appian, who modified the name to Delminion. In both cases, as was noted by Steindorff, we can assume actual knowledge of both authors of the particular city in Roman Dalmatia.[178]

It was Isidore of Seville who turned Delmis into a literary topos. On the basis of information taken from ancient writers, he wrote about a great city; the entire province was named after it.[179] It seems, however, that Isidore did not know much about the location of the city. Many Western authors – Rabanus Maurus Magnentius, Honorius Augustodunensis, Gervase of Tilbury, Vincentius of Beauvais, Bartholomeus Anglicus and, above all, Thomas the Archdeacon – repeated this information about Delmis after him.[180]

---

uređenje kod Srba u ranom srednjem veku – prema Barskom rodoslovu," *Glasnik Skopskog nuačnog društva* 15 (1935), p. 8.

176 *Ljetopis*, p. 53.

177 Steindorff, who investigated definitions of the word "Dalmatia" in medieval historiography, found the prologue of *Chronica Poloniae maioris* interesting in this context. It depicted a peculiar spatial arrangement related to the Slavic states: Pannonia was the centre of it, and was considered the "mother" of all Slavic nations. Four main Slavic kingdoms were listed in the text: the three founded by Lech, Czech and Rus – and Pannonia. Dalmatia – mentioned as established later, and probably less significant – also had strong bonds with Pannonia; according to the author of the chronicle, the name of Dalmatia meant "dala macz, quasi dedit mater" ['given by a mother'], which was to commemorate the fact that the lands had been detached by the queen of Pannonia from her own kingdom and given over to her son (*Chronica Poloniae maioris*, p. 5).

178 Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," p. 149.

179 *The Etymologies*, p. 290.

180 Under slightly modified names: *Dalmis*, *Delum*, or *Doima* (in the work of Gervase of Tilbury), the closest to the variant of the Priest of Duklja.

Thomas the Archdeacon mentioned the city of Delmis three times. At the start of his work, referring to information given by Isidore, he derived the name of Dalmatia from the name of the city: "Dalmatia secundum Ysidorum est prima pars Grecie et dicitur a Delmi civitate antiqua, que ibi fuit, sed ubi hec civitates Delmis in Dalmatie partibus fuerit, non satis patet. Verum tamen Dalmatia icebatur olim largius, censebatur enim cum Chrovatia una provintia" (Dalmatia, according to Isidore, is the first part of Greece, and is named after the ancient city of Delmis that was there; but it is not entirely clear in what part of Dalmatia this city of Delmis was. However, the name Dalmatia was formerly used in a broader sense, for it was considered as one province with Croatia). And although he admitted explicitly that he was not sure of the location of this eponymous place, he decided to pass on the traditional tale about it known to him: "Est enim region quedam in superioribus partibus, que dicitur Delmina, ubi antique menia astenduntur, ibi fuisse Delmis civitas memoratur"[181] (Now there is a certain area in the upper regions called Delmina, where the city walls are to be seen; it was there, according to the tradition, where Delmis stood). It is still a contentious issue whether "in superioribus partibus" should be translated as "in upper regions" as opposed to "lower" coastal regions, or whether instead we should seek a connection between this term and the distinction between *Dalmatiae superior* and *Dalmatiae inferior*, known to Thomas (and also confirmed in other sources, including *Regnum Sclavorum*).[182] Regardless, information that the Delmina region and the ruins of the ancient city lie somewhere in Upper Dalmatia are more likely to have been a rumour heard by the chronicler.

The next references to the city, located by Thomas the Archdeacon in the east, may be somewhat surprising. First, as has already been mentioned, he situated one of the two new bishoprics in Sclavonia, and then claimed that the city of Delmis was located at the fringe of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia: "ab oriente Delmina, ubi fuit civitas Delmis, in qua est quedam ecclesia, quam beatus Germanus Capuanus episcopus consecravit, sicut scriptum reperitur in ea"[183] (To the east: Delmina. Here the city of Delmis stood, and it is a church consecrated by Saint Germanus, Bishop of Capua, as we read in the inscription of the church). It is significant that the formula *ab oriente* was used twice by Thomas when writing about Delmis. Such an introduction indicates that he might have copied it from an earlier source. The certainty of this

181 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 2–3.
182 Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," p. 151.
183 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 60–61.

information – contradictory to what the chronicler had written about Delmis earlier – is surprising. Moreover, his previous mention of Delmis referred to the ruins of the city, rather than a possible episcopal see. These two references to the diocese support the hypothesis that the text by Thomas includes two separate traditions. Eponymous Delmis in the "upper regions" was not identical with eastern Delmis, or Delmina – which was mentioned above.

It also seems that Thomas the Archdeacon used some customary clichés when writing about the actual geographical position of (both) Delmis. As he admitted at the beginning, he did not have much idea of where the city could be situated. According to his narrative, Dalmatia spread from the city of Dyrrachium (Durrës), on the border with Epirus, to the Kvarner Gulf, while its inland area reached the unidentified town of Stridon – according to the chronicler, the birthplace of St. Jerome – on the border with Pannonia.[184] Describing the territory of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia, Thomas claimed that Stridon was located in its western part, bordering with Carinthia, marking the confines of Dalmatia and Istria. According to him the Danube was the northern boundary of the kingdom, whereas it spread southward to "the Dalmatian Sea" including Maronia and Hum. Thomas was probably much better oriented in coastal geography, yet as far as the inland cities of Delmis and Stridon are concerned, his knowledge was poor. It should be assumed that either he was writing about two different Delmis, or he did not know where the centre was located and he used the literary tradition in which Delmis had a function for a long time as a literary topos rather than being an actual place on the map of medieval Dalmatia.

This phenomenon is well illustrated by the anonymous *Desctriptio Europae Orientalis* from the early fourteenth century, in which eponymous Delmis was associated with Salona.[185] According to the anonymous author, both of them had been uninhabited for a long time: "Est et octaua prouincia ipsius Grecie secundum rei ueritatem Dalmatia, a Delmi, maxima ciuitate eiusdem regionis, sic dicta – licet eadem ciuitas postmodum uocata fuerit Salona que nunc est

---

184 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 2–3.

185 As the editors of the work noticed, this passage consists mainly of excerpts from the works of Bartholomeus Anglicus and Vincent of Beauvais, rewritten by the Anonymous; the legend of Salona seems to be independent of them. However, the editors of *Descriptio …* drew attention to the fifteenth-century French variant of the work of Bartholomeus Anglicus, in which the chapter *De Dalmacie* contains the words: "le cite ke est chef de ceste province si ad a nun Acelune". Perhaps the Anonymous author had some previous copy with similar additions. See: *Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, compiled by Tibor Živković, Vladeta Petrović, Alaksandar Uzelac, trans. Dragana Kunčer, ed. Srđan Rudić (Belgrade, 2013), p. 157, reference XCVII.

destructa"[186] (and the eighth province of this Greece, as we know, is Dalmatia, which takes its name from Delmis, the largest city in this region, and this city was later called Salona and it is now destroyed).

Thomas the Archdeacon associated the history of Delmis with the mission of German of Capua (who was also mentioned by the Priest of Duklja at the beginning of his work) which would actually indicate the lands of southern Dalmatia. In 519, German probably stayed in the area of the future Duklja. Steindorff, comparing this detail with information provided by the Priest of Duklja, was ready to acknowledge that "Delmis" in *Historia Salonitana* and "Dalma" in *Regnum Sclavorum* actually meant the area around Dioclea; the ancient ruins of this city are situated close to modern Podgorica.[187] The Priest of Duklja wrote that Dalma was located at the centre of both Dalmatias, which, as Steindorff noted, corresponded to the division of the seaside lands according to Muhammad al-Idrisi, who claimed that the territory of Croatia spread southward as far as Ragusa. More importantly, the division into two Dalmatias coincided, according to Steindorff, with the Roman border between Praevalitana and upper Dalmatia, while the division between Raška and Bosnia on the Drina river also could be the old boundary between the Roman provinces.[188]

The central location of Dalma enabled the Priest of Duklja to conceptualize the territory of the Kingdom of the Slavs. In this case, the plain of Dalma would play the role not only of the centre of Dalmatia, but also as the symbolic centre of Svetopelek's entire realm. His lands would be divided according to the axis designated by the place of the synod. The two main parts would represent the area of the country inhabited by the Latins and by the Slavs. Both groups participated in the sessions of the synod, and – as was noted by Steindorff – this fact enabled the Priest of Duklja to present the vision of a universal society, a harmonious *communitas* of the kingdom. The location of Dalma in the vicinity of Dioclea could also justify the subsequent narrowing of the geographical field of the narration of *Regnum Sclavorum* to the areas of Duklja.

186 *Anonymo Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, p. 109; see: Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 366–368. The anonymous author in his description of the Balkan lands could base his work, just like the Priest of Duklja, on customary image. He divided the territory of the Raška-Kingdom into Serbia and Raška proper (*Anonymi Descriptio*, pp. 120nn.) – like the Priest of Duklja, who in *Regnum Sclavorum* divided Serbia into Raška and Bosnia. Such an image in the description of the anonymous author could be influenced by the actual division of the Kingdom of Serbia during the times of the conflict between Stefan Dragutin and Stefan Milutin.

187 Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," pp. 154–155.

188 Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," pp. 156–8.

Steindorff claimed that the Priest of Duklja in his description of the division of Svetopelek's state had referred to the definition of the ideal empire "founded in accordance with Christian cosmological concepts on the number four".[189] Many conventional elements can be distinguished if this legend is considered as a schematic fictional construct. It is possible that Dalma in the Priest of Duklja's interpretation was nothing more than a literary motif justifying his image of the division of Dalmatia. Banašević noted that both the plain of Dalma and the division of the kingdom in *Regnum Sclavorum* presented more features of a conventional picture of a perfect realm than of political boundaries known to the chronicler. In this interpretation, Dalma would be a symbol of Dalmatia itself – the epitome used by the chronicler to depict the vision of Svetopelek's state.[190]

The vision of the kingdom oriented to the axis in Dalma agrees with the ideal image of medieval realm. The Priest of Duklja, probably due to the diverse material from which he drew, was forced to mark by himself the characteristic centre of Svetopelek's reign. Such centres were an important element of creating real dynastic ideologies,[191] and the Priest of Duklja was familiar with this phenomenon. Dalma, as a certain idea – a legendary place embodying the concept of Dalmatia itself – was a suitable location for being the central point of the state.

The events preceding the synod are important in this context. They are a link between the narrative passages about the baptism and those about the new state order. Svetopelek ordered the Christians to rebuild cities destroyed by the invasion, to begin the process of restoration of the state. He also re-established relationships between its inhabitants. The Priest of Duklja emphasized this fact when, in another part of the chronicle, he described that on the plain of Dalma: "Igitur omnes congregati, tam latinam quam et sclavonica lingua qui loquebantur" (So everyone gathered, those who spoke Latin and Slavic language).[192] The legend about the synod, as was already mentioned, has the features of a founding tale, in which two groups that used to be separated by history accept the law and the rules given to them by one ruler to create a new community. The reference to the Latin tradition was the main theme of the narrative about the synod, although it was enriched with additional

189 Steindorff, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," p. 158.

190 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 58–60.

191 Zbigniew Dalewski, *Rytuał i polityka. Opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem* (Warsaw, 2005), pp. 15–23.

192 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

motifs, which emphasized continuity of the kingdom since the time of the Gothic conquest.

The borders delineated by Svetopelek were in fact identical to those inherited by Senulad [11] from his father Ostroil, the Gothic conqueror: "Fuerant autem regni eius fines de Valdevino usque ad Poloniam, [includentes] tam maritimas, quam transmontanas regions" (The borders of his kingdom extended from Valdevino to Polonia, [including] coastal areas as well as lands behind the mountains).[193] During the synod, the division into two main regions: Maritima (Primorje) and Transmontana (Zagorje) was confirmed, and Valdevino, the border point on the northern boundaries of Lower Dalmatia, was also mentioned.

However, it is not easy to identify places marking the first boundaries of the kingdom. The geographical positions of Dalma and the Templana,[194] already mentioned several times, are unknown; also Valdevino and Polonia are difficult to identify today. The name "Valdevino" could refer to Vinodol,[195] a valley near Kvarner Gulf, although Marulić interpreted it as "Valachia" (Wallachia).[196] Šišić identified Polonia as the city of Apolonia[197] (Ἀπολλονία) in Albania, close to the present-day Vlorë.[198] It is also possible that the mysterious "Polonia" is the trace of a legend about the advance of the Goths from the territories of Poland, which – in a way that is difficult to reconstruct – was used by the Priest of Duklja to describe Senulad's state.

In his description of the synod, instead of Polonia, at the southern fringe of Svetopelek's state, the Priest of Duklja mentioned the city of Bambalona, adding that it was also known as Dyrrachium. The phrase: "usque Bambalonam civitatem, quae nunc dicitur Dirachium" (to the city of Bambalona, which is now called Dyrrachium) again points to the remnants of an archaized legend linking ancient Valona with Dyrrachium, the centre contemporary to the author – just like Ragusa was linked with Epidaurus, and Jadra (Zadar) with Arausona. It is possible, however, that the Priest of Duklja, while trying to clarify his vision of the boundaries of the kingdom, confused Bambalona and Dyrrachium, or felt that the distance between them was insignificant. It can only be mentioned that Dyrrachium as a border location would match much more closely to what Thomas the Archdeacon and Constantine Porphyrogennetos wrote

193 *Ljetopis*, p. 43.
194 In Croatian text: Trnovina.
195 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 424. As was noted by Živković, Valdevino was identified with Vinodol as early as by Ivan Črnčić: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 16, footnote 3.
196 Marulić translation: *Regvm Dalmatię atqve Croatię gesta*, p. 37; Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 388.
197 In the Middle Ages known as Polin, today: Pojani.
198 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 424.

about the Dalmatian area. Both of them consider the region of modern Durrës as the fringe of this land.[199]

The approximate area in which, according to the Priest of Duklja, the Kingdom of the Slavs was located is quite surprising: Dalma, Valdevino and Polonia/Bambalona are very odd, as if the chronicler intended to present a blurred image of its shape. The borders of the kingdom were highly symbolic and allegedly had ancient origins. Similarly, enigmatic toponyms were used far more often by the Priest of Duklja. The division of Croatia into White and Red seems to be the most controversial part of the description of the synod. Sometimes the author uses the terms *Inferior Dalmatia* and *Superior Dalmatia*. Such a division is also found in the chronicle of Andrea Dandolo, the fourteenth-century Venetian Doge,[200] although there are many indications that the presence of the terms *Croatia Alba* and *Croatia Rubea* in this work is a sign of the familiarity of the author with the Latin version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.[201]

In the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, Dalmatia is divided into Upper and Lower, and the borders of both regions were similarly described, but as was already mentioned, there is no reference to Red Croatia in this version.[202] The author of the Croatian version mentioned the White Croats when discussing the territorial divisions of the state of Budimir. This is the only case where such a term appears in the Croatian version of the text, whereas in the Latin version, it was used several times. In the Croatian variant, it referred to a community rather than to a territory.[203] In literature from the Dalmatian areas, the White Croats are also mentioned in a fragment of the *Anonymous Chronicle* from Split about Zvonimir's death. In this case also, the name referred to an unidentified group.[204]

White Croatia was fairly well (and very vaguely) described in sources from the Earlier Middle Ages. However, the texts consistently located it north of the Danube.[205] There is probably a link between the name of Dalmatian White

199 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 2–3; *De administrando imperio*, chapter 30, verses 8–10, pp. 140–141.

200 *Andreae Danduli Venetorum ducis Chronicon Venetum*, p. 182; *Andreas Dandolo Chronicon Venetum*, MMFH, v. 4, p. 422.

201 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 127.

202 Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 263–266.

203 "Hrvate Bile, što su Dalmatini Nižnji": *Ljetopis*, p. 54.

204 Miroslav Kurelac, "Povijesni zapis nazvan 'Anonimna Kronika' u rukopisu Naučne biblioteke u Zadru," Historijski Zbornik 23–24 (197071), p. 372; Hrvoje Morović, "Novi izvori o nasilnoj smrti kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira," *Mogućnosti* 10 (1960), p. 835.

205 Except for, perhaps, *The Primary Chronicle* (*Tale of Bygone Years*), as Třeštík thought, although the interpretation of the term in this work is disputed: Třeštík, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 86–87, 96–97.

Croatia and the name of this enigmatic northern territory. In turn, Red Croatia does not appear in any medieval source unrelated to *Regnum Sclavorum*. Niko Županić and later also Herbert Ludat tried to derive this terminology from steppe customs of assigning specific colours to the cardinal directions. Beliefs of this type are well-confirmed among the steppe peoples, especially the Turks.[206] The case of Russia indicates the possibility that the Slavs had taken a similar terminology.[207] Although the very name of the White Croats, even in the Dalmatian context, was mentioned several times in various sources, the division into White and Red Croatia seems to have been the Priest of Duklja's own idea, invented by him and consistently implemented. In this approach, however, Red Croatia would be a late construct created by analogy to the White Croats, a term that even the Priest of Duklja could not interpret correctly.

The incompatibility of toponyms to the actual situation of the Illyricum of the High Middle Ages did not mean that the territorial system in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* was arranged in random constellations. Geographical terminology was used consistently throughout the entire work. The Priest of Duklja referred to some places with the Latin word *terra*, while to others with the word *regio*. In the context of the division of the state by Svetopelek, it is worth focusing on four *provinciae*: Lower and Upper Dalmatia (White and Red Croatia), Bosnia and Raška.

As it was demonstrated by Hvostova, the word *provincia* was used by the Priest of Duklja following quite rigid rules.[208] Initially, the chronicler used it when he wrote about ancient Roman provinces, such as Istria, Illyria, and Pannonia. In the context of the Latins he even used the expression *provincia Latinorum*. He also occasionally used the term *provincia* referring to the lands outside the Kingdom of the Slavs; "Bulgarian province" and "Khazar provice" can be encountered in the text. In other cases, the term appeared in the narrative only to indicate the four main territories of Svetopelek's realm.

According to the decisions of the synod, the provinces were governed by the bans appointed by the king, while the župans mentioned in the text were mainly regional rulers. The word *provincia* was used often in reference to Raška, although – as was rightly noted by Hvostova – "the ban of Raška" is mentioned only once; "the župan of Raška" appears much more often

206 Niko Županić, "Značenje barvnega atributa v imenu 'Crvena Hrvatska'. Predavanje na IV. kongresu slovanskih geografov in etnografov v Sofiji, dne 18. avgusta 1936.," *Etnolog* 10–11 (1937–1939), pp. 355–376; Herbert Ludat, "Farbenbezeichnungen in Völkernamen. Ein Beitrag zu asiatischosteuropäischen Kulturbeziehungen," Saeculum 4 (1953), pp. 138–155.

207 Oleg Łatyszonek, *Od Rusinów Białych do Białorusinów. U źródeł białoruskiej idei narodowej* (Białystok, 2006), pp. 17–43.

208 Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," pp. 44–45.

in the text.[209] However, this should not be considered an exception; it is not the case that Raška, according to the Priest of Duklja, ceased to be one of the four main provinces of the kingdom. The change was related to Tychomil's career, a secondary hero from the period of the reign of King Časlav. Tychomil married a daughter of the ban of Raška, but he was only a (drinski) župan. Later, during the interregnum, he became independent and took the title of the great župan of Raška.[210] The Priest of Duklja, writing about this change, consistently uses the term "župan" with reference to Tychomil's descendants, and subtly indicates that they do not deserve the inherited dignity of the ban. However, this did not change the status of the land itself as one of the basic provinces.

The chronicler made indirect references to this fourfold division when describing the conquests of Pavlimir Bello. After the interregnum, this ruler managed to subordinate an area similar to the one approved during the synod. The geographical focus of the narrative was limited after the part describing the reign of King Predimir, yet the fourfold division was maintained. Predimir divided his lands between his four sons: Hvalimir received Zenta (Zeta); Boleslav, Tribunja; Dragislav, Chelmania (Hum); and Spelanchus (in edited versions: Senulad (Svevlad) [III]), Podgoria, also known as Submontana. These lands constituted the entity known in *The Chronicle* as the Tetrarchy.[211] In describing the reign of one of the later rulers, Sylvester, the Priest of Duklja stated that this ruler: "gubernavit totam Tetrarchiam" (governed all of Tetrarchy).[212] The concept of Tetrarchy allowed the author to preserve the appearance of the territorial continuity of the Kingdom of the Slavs, although the actual area of the realm was very limited.

The presentation of the Church of St. Mary in Dioclea as the coronation centre was a remnant of such a positioning of Svetopelek's vast kingdom. *Regnum Sclavorum* claims that the king was buried there, and then his son, Svetolik, was enthroned by the archbishop and bishops in the same place. The patron saint of the church was probably no accident. King Vladimir, another great ruler of the Priest of Duklja's narrative was associated with St. Mary. When he was martyred, his body was transferred to the church of St. Mary in Krajina. Although Svetopelek did not represent holiness in the way that Vladimir did, the chronicler called him *rex sanctissimus*. Of the rulers of the kingdom, only Svetopelek and Vladimir are described as *sancti*, and analogies regarding the burial sites of the two rulers do not seem to be accidental in this context.

209 Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," p. 45.
210 *Ljetopis*, p. 69. In this particular context the Priest of Duklja used the term *terra Rassa*.
211 *Ljetopis*, p. 75.
212 *Ljetopis*, p. 77.

The Marian cult seems to be particularly linked with the local implementation of the model of *rex iustus*, righteous king. Gábor Klaniczay emphasized the importance of the cult of Hungarian Stephen in the development of various forms of Marian devotion. Legends about St. Stephen listed numerous churches dedicated to St. Mary founded during his reign. The king was also buried in the Basilica of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Székesfehérvár (Stolni Biograd in Croatian).[213] Perhaps the Priest of Duklja referred to this vision, writing about Svetopelek's grave and the place of his successors' enthronement in the abovementioned church in Dioclea.

Characteristically, in the subsequent parts of the text, Dioclea was never presented in a similar role. Moreover, the narrative mentions other centres of the state, such as Ragusa and Tribunja, associated with King Pavlimir Bello – which is in clear contradiction with the alleged special role of the Church of St. Mary in Dioclea emphasized by the Priest of Duklja: "Ex illa denique die mos adolevit, ut in eadem ecclesia eligerentur et ordinarentur omnes reges huius terrae" (From that day the custom was established that in this church all the kings of this land were appointed and ordained). On the other hand, such appreciation of Dioclea was natural in the context of the diocesan division of the state. Dioclea was one of the two archiepiscopal sees, and the Priest of Duklja had to locate the coronation place in one of them if he wanted to maintain the coherence of his own vision. Although the choice of Dioclea could have resulted from the interest of the Church in Bar, primarily it better served the narrative concept of the author, who consistently shifted the centre of the Kingdom of the Slavs to the south. Such a decision could also arise from the Priest of Duklja's intention to show Svetopelek as a representative of the dynasty that emerged during the Gothic conquest. The chronicler referred to the ancient traditions, at the same time trying to promote a vision quite inconsistent with the one present in them. Therefore, forced to choose between Salona, the old capital of the Dalmatian king defeated by the Goths, and Dioclea, he decided on the latter.

7 The Emperor, the Pope and the King: Circumstances and Significance of Svetopelek's Coronation

The rallies on the plain of Dalma were opened by Honorius, the papal legate, and King Svetopelek. The order in which both figures were mentioned in the

213 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 138–42.

narrative indicated the important role played by the advisers sent to the king in establishing the new state order. According to the Priest of Duklja, the king's authority came from three sources; he owed his position to his ancestors, yet he sought legitimacy for his activities above all from Rome and Constantinople.

The main role of the synod, which ended with the coronation of the king, was to confirm the new legal and administrative status of the state. The entire text of *Regnum Sclavorum* includes only three descriptions of events of this type. The very title *rex*, as was showed by Hvostova, was not used in a strict sense and usually referred to a figure holding supreme authority in the kingdom.[214] Therefore, although the work mentions many "kings", there are not many references to ceremonies of enthronement.

It is not known whether the chronicler could make use of historical models known to him in the description of Svetopelek's coronation.[215] Many historians have speculated about this issue and have offered various hypotheses. There were unsuccessful attempts to link Svetopelek (or Budimir) with a certain actual crowned ruler of the region. Jelić believed that the congress could have taken place during the reign of the Croatian King Peter Krešimir IV in the second half of the eleventh century, and more precisely in August 1057, when at the same time Stephen IX was the Roman Pope (1057–1058) and Michael VI Bringas was the Byzantine Emperor (1056–1057).[216] That hypothesis was far-fetched because Krešimir only began to rule around 1058, which would have been after the abdication of Emperor Michael.

According to Kukuljević Sakcinski, the base for describing the Synod in Dalma was the alleged coronation of King Tomislav at the Synod in Split in 925.[217] In the synodal documents there is a letter of Pope John X in which Tomislav was called "the king of the Croats". In local nineteenth-century historiography, the Priest of Duklja's information about Tomislav, who defeated the Hungarian King Attila, was linked with the legend of Svetopelek's coronation to create a vision of the powerful Croatian state. This politically convenient identification was strong enough that in 1925, one thousand years after the

214 Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," p. 31.

215 This issue was discussed by Muhamed Hadžijahić, "Pitanje vjerodostojnosti sabora na Duvanjskom polju," *Godišnjak – Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 6 (1970), pp. 201–261 – who claimed unambiguously that the narration had to be founded on historical events.

216 Jelić, "Duvanjski sabor," pp. 135–45.

217 Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Prvovjenčani vladaoci Bugara, Hrvata i Srba i njihove krune," *Rad JAZU* 58 (1881), pp. 135–140.

supposed events, the name of the city of Županjac, near Duvno, was changed to Tomislavgrad.[218]

Thallóczy supposed that a similar meeting could have taken place in the ninth century, during the reign of Borna or Branimir.[219] Vladimir Košćak also linked Svetopelek with the latter and believed that during Branimir's reign there was a great congress at which the envoys of Pope Stephen V (885–891) and Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912) gave Branimir power over the Adriatic coast (Maritima, mentioned in the narrative).[220] Šišić also presumed that the description of Svetopelek's baptism and coronation could originally refer to Branimir.[221] Radojković sought the alleged model even further and speculated that the fragment of the work of the Priest of Duklja under discussion could refer to some hypothetical convention related to the baptism of the Croats. Svetopelek's role would be equal to the one of archon Porga (Ποργα) mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos.[222] The described events have recently been linked to the baptism of the Slavs by Stevo Vučinić who claimed that the Synod took place in 867.[223]

On the other hand, the assumptions by Dominik Mandić that a vast Croatian state existed in the area described by the Priest of Duklja in the eighth century – more precisely, in the time of Pope Stephen II (752–757) and Emperor Constantine V (741–775) – are absolutely improbable. Likewise, the belief by Muhamed Hadžijahić that King Budimir, described in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, was a representative of an unknown dynasty that ruled Bosnia in the second half of the ninth century, seems equally extravagant.[224]

Even those scholars who questioned that any synod or congress of a character similar to the one described in *Regnum Sclavorum* had taken place at all, tried to match the Priest of Duklja's fictitious vision with historical knowledge of the medieval Balkans. Steindorff supposed that the chronicler could

218 See: Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie*, pp. 120–125. It can be mentioned that similar processes of creating local collective memory took place in the village of Dajbabe near Podgorica. According to regional legend, king Budimir was to be buried in the village. In 1934, the village council decided to change its name to Budimir. See: Stevo Vučinić, *Prilozi proučavanju Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina and ranosrednjovjekovne Duklje* (Cetinje, 2017), pp. 80–81.

219 Thallóczy, "Die ungarische Beziehungen," p. 207.

220 Vladimir Košćak, "Pripadnost istočne obale Jadrana do splitskih sabora 925–928," *Historijski zbornik* 33–34 (1980–1981), pp. 291–355.

221 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 432, footnote 37.

222 Radojković, "Država kralja Svetopeleka," pp. 399–435.

223 Vučinić, *Prilozi proučavanju Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina*, pp. 70–82.

224 Hadžijahić, "Das Regnum Sclavorum als historische Quelle und als territoriales Substrat," pp. 20–22, 35–36.

have known some local records about the sending of the royal crown to Michael (Mihailo) I of Duklja by Pope Gregory VII and about the establishment of the archiepiscopal see in Bar by King Bodin in 1089.[225]

As was already mentioned, Havlík thought it possible that a similar congress had taken place during the reign of Moravian Svatopluk, and Šišić speculated that the character of Budimir (Svetopelek) in the Priest of Duklja's narrative might be based on Kocel,[226] duke of the Balaton Principality. Also, some of the more recent historians represent the view that the political situation in the discussed passage of *Regnum Sclavorum* reflected the actual relations in the state of the Croatian King Zvonimir.[227]

Historians have attempted to decipher the hidden identities of other characters in the Priest of Duklja's narrative. Pope Stephen mentioned in the text was identified by Živković as Stephen V (885–891), who in 885 sent Bishop Dominik and two presbyters, John and Stephen,[228] to the territory of Great Moravia. Unfortunately, the papal name is inconsistent with the one from the narrative tradition of Cyril and Methodius. Among the texts that mentioned the summoning of Constantine (or both brothers) to Rome, *Vita Constantini*,[229] *The Life of Methodius*[230] and *Legenda Moravica*[231] in this context gave the name of the pope as Nicholas, not Stephen.[232]

The identification of Emperor Michael is also doubtful. In the Croatian version, he was replaced (though inconsistently) by Emperor Constantine. Ivan Črnčič noticed that it could be a mistake by the translator, who changed the expression *ad imperatorem Constantinopolitanae urbis Michaelem* into *ka cesaru Konstantinu*.[233]

Živković counted seven emperors named Michael who ruled in Constantinople between 811 and 1078, though only in the case of Michael II the Amorian (820–829) was the imperial activity in the Balkans certified in the sources. Indeed, the reign of the aforementioned Michael VI Bringas (1056–1057) overlapped with the pontificate of the pope named Stephen (Stephen IX,

225 Steindorff, "Die Synode," p. 303; idem, "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia'," p. 155.

226 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 143.

227 Andriana Steta, *I Pacta Conventa nella storia e nella tradizione giuridica e politica croato-ungherese*, doctoral thesis, Università di Macerata (Macerata, 2013), p. 75.

228 The letter of Pope Stephen V to Svatopluk: MMFH vol. 3, ep. no. 102, p. 215; Živković, "O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju," p. 58.

229 *Vita Constantini Cyrylli cum translationes. Clementi*, MMFH vol. 2, p. 129.

230 *Žitije Mefodija arhijepiskopa Moravьska*, MMFH vol. 2, p. 146.

231 *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris*, p. 262.

232 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 122 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 16].

233 Črnčić, *Popa Dukljanina Lêtopis*, p. 14, footnote 2.

1057–1058), and the period when both of them held their offices was limited to thirty days.[234]

Emperor Michael is mentioned in texts from the tradition of Cyril and Methodius. The Slavic *Life of Constantine*, the possible source of information about Michael, refers to the envoys sent to the emperor by prince Rostislav.[235] Michael, through the missionary, granted Moravia the privilege of using the Slavic language in the liturgy. The circumstances in which this happened in some ways resemble events known from *Regnum Sclavorum*. According to the author of the hagiography, the prince, inspired by God, sent his envoys after consulting with the magnates and the Moravians as to the soundness of his actions. The name of the emperor in the context of a similar event was also noted in *The Russian Primary Chronicle* (also known as *The Tale of Bygone Years*), and the legend *Uspenije Kirilla*, representing a closer geographical circle. The author of the latter wrote about envoys from Khazaria who came to the court of emperor Michael to ask for baptism, and later he added information about Rostislav's envoys coming to the emperor – without giving his name – with a similar request.[236] It is very probable that the Priest of Duklja found the mention about Michael in the Slavic hagiography of Constantine or some shorter text from the Ohrid tradition.

The names of the papal legate and the imperial envoys are another "twin" riddle for scholars. The idea that the names of Leo and John could get to the narrative from the documents of the first Synod in Split (925) seems convincing. Summaries of this congress' decisions mentioned John, the Bishop of Ancona, and Leo, the Bishop of Palestrina, who came to Dalmatia to combat the erroneous "doctrine of Methodius" and to help in spreading Latin language in the ecclesiastical circles of the "Slavic land".[237]

---

234 Živković, "O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju," pp. 54–55.

235 *Žitije Konstantina Filosofa*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 98–101; see: Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 123 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 42].

236 *Uspenije Kirilla*, MMFH vol. 2, pp. 247, 249.

237 "Unde hortamur uos, dilectissimi, ut cum nostri episcopis, Johanne scilicet sanctae anconitanae et Leone sanctae palestinae ecclesiarum dei, iuncti cunctaque per Sclauinicam terram audacter corrigere satagatis", *Documenta*, no. 149.1 a, p. 189; "Unde iterum atque iterum uos monemus, dilectissimi filii, ut in nostra conuersatione maneatis, et linguam et praecepta reuerendissimorum episcoporum, Johannis scilicet sanctae anchonitanae ecclesiae et Leonis sanctae palestrinae ecclesiae, (qui sunt) nostri familiarissimi, a nostro latere uobis transmissi, atque perspicaci industria suffulti, in omnibus nobis creduli audiatis", *Documenta*, no. 149 b, p. 190.

The search for Leo and John among the imperial officials in Dalmatia did not bring convincing results. Although there are several representatives of the Byzantine administration with these names in tenth and eleventh-century documents, it is impossible to find any links between them in the source material.[238] Havlík suggested that two imperial envoys and a papal legate can be associated with three clergymen sent from Rome to Svatopluk in Moravia in 886 and 889 (in both cases, one of them was named John), yet such ideas should be treated with caution.[239]

The figure of Cardinal Honorius is another mystery. Besides the king, he was the second most important participant of the synod. In the narrative, Honorius is titled *sanctae Romanae ecclesiae presbyter cardinalis*. The Priest of Duklja mentioned him three times, particularly on the occasion of the royal coronation. The name of the cardinal and the names of imperial envoys are absent in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, which led Šišić to believe that they were added to the Latin text later. According to Šišić, the figure of Honorius in *Regnum Sclavorum* comes from *Historia Salonitana* which mentions Pope Honorius (Honorius III, 1216–1227) on the occasion of the coronation of the Serbian King Stefan the First-Crowned (Stefan Nemanjić). The corresponding passages in Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle and in the work of the Priest of Duklja show some superficial similarity. Thomas noted:

> Eodem tempore Staphanus dominus Servie sive Rasie, qui mega iupanus appelabatur, missis apochrisariis ad Romanam sedem, impetravit ab Honorio summo pontifice coronam regni. Direxit namque legatum a letere suo, qui veniens coronavit eum primumque regem constituit terre sue.[240]
>
> (At that time Stephen, the lord of Serbia or Rascia, who was called the great *župan*, sent high-ranking envoys to the Holy See to ask for a royal crown from Pope Honorius. The supreme pontiff dispatched his legate *a latere* who upon arrival crowned Stephen and instituted him as first king of his land).

238 Živković, "O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju," pp. 56–57.

239 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, pp. 127–129 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, pp. 35–36].

240 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 162.

According to Šišić, the corresponding fragment in *Regnum Sclavorum* is:

> Finita synodo XII[a] die, per manus Honorii vicarii et cardinalium atque episcopum coronatus est rex atque coronatus more romanorum regum.[241]
>
> (At the end of the rally of the twelfth day, the king was consecrated with the hands of vicar Honorius, cardinals and bishops, and crowned in accordance with the custom of Roman kings).

The early dating of *Regnum Sclavorum*, accepted by Šišić, precluded the use of Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle by the Priest of Duklja. However, Honorius' name was already known to Andrea Dandolo, who in his *Chronicon Venetum* from the first half of the fourteenth century, summarized information provided by *Regnum Sclavorum*:

> Huius etiam beati Cyrilli predicatione Svethopolis[a] rex Dalmacie, aui ab Ostroylo germano Totile, regis Gothorum, originem duxerat, cum toto suo populo catholicam fidem suscepit et ab Honorio, cardinali legato apostolice sedis, assistentibus orthodoxis episcopis et apocrisariis Michaelis imperatoris Constantinopolitani, a quo regnum suum recognoscebat, in plano Dalme coronatus est [...].[242]
>
> (Influenced by the teaching of blessed Cyril, Svetopolis, the king of Dalmatia, who was a descendant of Ostroyl, the brother of Totila, the king of the Goths, with all his people accepted the Catholic faith and was crowned by Honorius, the cardinal and legate of the Holy See, assisted by the orthodox bishops and envoys of Michael, the Emperor of Constantinople, who granted him his kingdom on the plain of Dalma [...]).

The phrase *per manus*, which neither appears in the text by Dandolo nor from Thomas, is typical of the Priest of Duklja's narrative: King Vladimir [II] wanted to get a wooden cross *per manus religiosum hominum*,[243] while another King Vladimir [IV] was poisoned *per manus ministrorum eius*.[244] According to

241 *Ljetopis*, p. 52. According to Šišić, this fragment was a later addition, see: *Letopis*, pp. 429–430.

242 *Andreae Danduli Chronicon Venetum*, p. 182; the same fragment also in: *Andreas Dandolo Chronicon Venetum*, MMFH, v. 4, p. 422.

243 *Ljetopis*, p. 82.

244 *Ljetopis*, p. 100.

Havlík, a similar phrase in the description of Svetopelek's coronation could have been taken from the description of the coronation of the Croatian King Demetrius Zvonimir,[245] who, in a letter to the papal legate, Gebizo wrote about the kingdom received *per manus tuam*.[246] With papal nuncios in mind, Zvonimir also used the phrase *honorifice suscipiam*, associated by Havlík with the verse "legati nobiles [...] qui a rege et cardinalibus honorifice suscepti sunt"[247] in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.[248]

In the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, more important functions were assigned to papal legates than to imperial envoys. While receiving the legates from Constantinople, the king was already being assisted by priests sent from Rome. Honorius, as was already mentioned, first opened the session of the synod with the king, and later he closed it himself, after crowning the ruler. The formula *more Romanorum regum*, used by the Priest of Duklja when describing Svetopelek's coronation, seems interesting in this context. Šišić believed that this phrase referred to the Latin coronation rites, because in the context of the Byzantine Greeks (self-identifying as *Rhōmaîoi* – i.e. Romans), the Priest of Duklja would certainly not write about "kings".[249] It was probably a reference to the title of the rulers of Germany, who, from the eleventh century, were titled "the kings of the Romans"[250] during the coronation in Aachen or Mainz, before the possible imperial coronation.

Besides this fragment, in the entire *Regnum Sclavorum* there are only a few descriptions of enthronement, and they are not particularly extensive. For example, the Priest of Duklja wrote about Svetolik, Svetopelek's son, stating that he was consecrated and crowned by the archbishop and bishops at the request of the people.[251] The example of King Bodin shows, however, that the Priest of Duklja was somewhat familiar with the symbolism surrounding the coronation ceremony. Bodin, to emphasize his imperial aspirations, "imposuit diadema capiti suo et iussit se vocari imperatorem" (he decorated his head

---

245 "Demetrius, qui et Suinimiri nuncupor".

246 "Regnum autem, quod mihi per manus tuam, domne Gebizo, traditur, fideliter retinebo et illud summumque ius apostolice sedi aliquo ingenio aliquando non subtraham. Domnum meum papam Gregorium et suos successores atque legatos, si in meam potestatem uenerint, honorifice suscipiam et honeste tractabo et remittam; (...)": *Documenta*, no. 87, p. 104.

247 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

248 Havlík, *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*, p. 132 [*Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*, p. 38].

249 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 430, footnote 27.

250 Helmut Beumann, "Rex Romanorum," in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* vol. 7 (Munich, 1995), pp. 777–778.

251 *Ljetopis*, p. 57. Even less is known about the coronation of the King Predimir, about whom the chronicler wrote only: "coronatus est rex" (p. 73).

with a diadem and ordered that he was to be called emperor).[252] In this case, the gesture of self-coronation emphasized the usurpation of the imperial title and pride of the ruler. Emphasising the assistance of Cardinal Honorius in this respect significantly differentiated Svetopelek's coronation from other ceremonies of this kind described in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

In the description of enthronement of Pavlimir Bello, there is no information about the act of coronation. It also seems that the role of the clergy in the events was negligible. It is not the archbishop, but bans, župans and centurions who gathered in Tribunja and elected King Pavlimir ("susceperunt illum honorifice […] constituerent illum regem").[253] It can be seen that the Priest of Duklja once again repeated the already known formula of "receiving with honours", which in the description of Svetopelek's coronation referred to the imperial legates. Differences in participation of lay people and clergy can be explained by the changed situation of the state. Pavlimir ruled after the period of interregnum and he came to power due to acceptance of the magnates.

Svetopelek, in turn, simply issued resolutions on the rights of bans, župans and centurions, hence Cardinal Honorius was the most important person at the synod next to the ruler. The coronation "with his hand" legitimized the newly baptized ruler, and in this respect it emphasized the papal protection of the state. Interestingly, Svetopelek's son, as we may suppose, became king by the will of the people mourning his deceased father ("populi lamentaverunt […] elevaverunt filium eius Svetolicum" [people lamented […] [and] enthroned his son Svetolik][254]). It seems that Honorius' participation made the coronation in Dalma quite exceptional.

The differences between the description of the enthronement of Pavlimir and Svetopelek might be also influenced by decisions that were made during the synod. In each of the four provinces the king appointed a ban "ex suis consaguineis fratribus" (from his brothers of blood) and župans (*comites*) from the local magnates. Each ban had seven centurions dependent on him, while each *comes*, or župan, had one subordinate centurion. This system and differences in its structure according to individual variants of the text have already been discussed. It should be noted, however, that the order of Svetopelek's realm was probably linked with the tradition of a fixed number of magnate families who elected Croatian kings, something which had been known since the fourteenth century. The blood ties connecting the king and bans, emphasized by

252 *Ljetopis*, p. 95.
253 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.
254 *Ljetopis*, p. 56.

the Priest of Duklja, indicate that the process of election of a ruler by his bans had been an integral element of this system.

The first part of the gloss on the margin of *Supetar Cartulary* – partially quoted earlier – concerned the procedure in the case of a king who died without progeny:

> Tempore transacto erat consuetudo in regno Croatorum: erant septem bani, qui eligerant regem in Croacia, quando rex sine liberis moriebatur, silicet banus Croacie primus, banus bosniensis secundus, banus Sclauonie tercius, banus Posige quartus, banus Podrauoe quintus, banus Albanie sestus, banus Sremi septimus. Et sex generibus Croatorum erant bani in Croacie, quos eligebant duodecim tribus Croatorum. Et de aliis sex generacionibus erant comites in comitatibus croacie. Kacigi, Cucari, Snasci, Cudomirigi, Mogorouigi, Subigi: isti sunt principales, quibus pertinent banatunt et mitunt, sortes cui eorum sors dederit.
>
> (In the past there was a custom in the kingdom of the Croats: there were seven bans who elected a new king in Croatia, when an old king dies without progeny, and so, the first was a ban of Croatia, the second a ban of Bosnia, the third was a ban of Slavonia, the fourth was a ban of Požegi, the fifth was a ban of Podravina, the sixth was a ban of Albania, the seventh was a ban of Srem. And bans in Croatia would come from six Croatian families, elected by twelve Croatian tribes. And of the remaining six families were župans (comites) in Croatia. Kačici, Kukari, Snačici, Čudomirici, Mogorovici, Šubici: these are the mighty, to whom the dignity of a ban belonged, and those of them appointed by fate were to become bans).

The text of the so-called *Pacta conventa*,[255] an alleged agreement between Croatian families and the Hungarian King Coloman – and according to contemporary historians, a forgery made in the fourteenth century[256] – presents this issue in a slightly different way. It mentions twelve noble families: "Chroates audita legacione domini regis, inito conscilio omnes insimul acceptauerunt et miserunt XII nobiles sapienciores de XII tribubus Chroacie" (The Croats, having heard the legates of the king, began the council, and they all

255 Incipit: *Qualiter et cum quo pacto dederun se Croates regi Hungarie.* This document was added to the fourteenth-century manuscript of the chronicle of Thomas the Archdeacon. Interestingly, it was first published by Lucius with the printed version of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

256 See Nada Klaić, "Plemstvo dvanaestero plemena kraljevine Hrvatske (Nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatie)," *Historijski zbornik* 9 (1956), pp. 83–100.

agreed and sent 12 wise magnates from the 12 tribes of Croatia).[257] The reference to close ties between the king and provincial bans, and especially the way in which Pavlimir Bello was elected king after the interregnum period, indicate that the Priest of Duklja might have known this tradition.[258]

It is worth noting that the Croatian version did not inform about Budimir's coronation. We only learn that "gardinali i biskupi s voljom svega puka posvetiše kralja i potvrdiše u kraljevstvo".[259] The "consecration" mentioned in this verse could be a clue as to the possible earlier form of the Latin text and the way the Priest of Duklja understood the phrase *more Romanorum regem*.

The character of ceremonies of enthronement in the Western world – since the mid-eighth century, modelled after enthronements of the first Carolingians – was sacramental to a large extent.[260] Besides the coronation itself, an act of anointing a king was an important element of the rite. It can be presumed that such a ceremony was described by the author of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*. According to him, anointment was more important than putting a crown or diadem on the king's head. It is assumed that this custom only spread in Byzantium in the thirteenth century, after the Fourth Crusade, under the influence of the coronation ritual of the Latin emperors.[261] On the other hand, anointing was known in Serbia from at least the second half of the thirteenth century, when Domentijan mentioned it, describing the ceremonies of the

257 The entire text of the document: Hrvoje Jurčić, "Die sogenannten 'Pacta Conventa' in kroatischer Sicht," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 1 (1969), pp. 16–17.

258 The place of these fragments of *Pacta Conventa* and their relationship with the "discursive literacy" of fourteenth century Croatia were discussed by Mladen Ančić. He compared *Pacta Conventa* with the so-called *Fragment of Chronology* attributed to Archdeacon John of Gorička. In both texts we find a certain vision of Croatia's political order before it was taken over by Hungary. The author of *Fragment of Chronology*, written in the mid-fourteenth century, might have known some version of *The Chronicle*, as it is evidenced by the mention of the Croatian king "Stephen Volosclavus" and his raiding expedition against the Tribals and the Serbs, as well as the description of the kingdom of Croatia spreading east of the Cetina River. Ančić also located in this context remarks from *Supetar Cartulary*; he believed that the name Albania appearing in the list was inspired by the author's knowledge of *The Chronicle*. See: Ančić, *Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoleća*, p. 165; 190, ref. 148.

259 *Ljetopis*, p. 52. "And cardinals and bishops, with the will of all the people, consecrated the king and confirmed his right to the kingdom".

260 Although it was not considered a sacrament, see: Boris Uspienski, "Car i patriarcha. Charyzmat władzy w Rosji," (Katowice, 1999), pp. 19–22.

261 As Georgije Ostrogorski believed. However, Donald M. Nicol modified this claim, distinguishing between unction with oil, which may have been an earlier feature of Byzantine imperial coronations, and anointing with chrism (μύρον), which probably became widespread under the influence of Latin ceremonies. See: Donald M. Nicol, "Kaisersalbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), pp. 37–52.

coronation of Stefan the First-Crowned. A similar two-part ritual was also known to the author of the Croatian text of *The Chronicle* who wrote about Svetolik, Budimir's son: "I krunjen bi i pomazan od archibiskupov".[262] It is possible that the Priest of Duklja, who did not mention anointment, simply considered it as a distinctive feature of the Latin rite, and he understood the term "custom of Roman kings" as the combination of crowning and anointing a king by an assisting cardinal.

The formula *more Romanorum regem* and Honorius' role are consistent with the Priest of Duklja's concept, who presented the synod as a complement to Constantine's mission on the one hand, and the consolidation of the Slavs and the Latins on the other. In this way he refuted the allegation of the king's unorthodoxy. While maintaining the vision of the dynasty's origin from the barbarian Goths, the chronicler managed to present the vision of the kingdom as a place not only for renewing ancient traditions, but also for organizing them in such a way that they were adjusted to the circumstances of the foundation of the new state.

The Priest of Duklja, who was most probably a clergyman, emphasized the special protection the king had given to the Church and its representatives: "statuit etiam rex, ut nullus perturbaret in aliquo aliquam ecclesiamaut haberet aliquam potestatem seu dominationem in aliqua ecclesia, nisi solus archiepiscopus vel episcopus, cuius sub iure esset eadem ecclesia, qui vero aliter faceret, regiam coronam offenderet" (the king also ordered that no one should dare to offend the Church in any way or to claim any authority or power over any church except the archbishop or bishop to whom the church is legally subordinate. And those who would act differently, they would commit an offence against the royal crown).[263] The position concerning usurpation of power in a diocese under the care of a proper bishop could originally refer to the conflict between the centres in Bar and Ragusa. On the other hand, it remains so detached from the outlined context that any conflict between the two episcopal centres could be its source. The emphasis placed by the Priest of Duklja on the special protection of the Church by Svetopelek was compatible with the features of a model king-legislator.

The chronicler did not mention any royal insignia. The existence of the crown can be guessed from the phrase *coronatus est*. The noun "crown" appeared only once, in the phrase *corona regia* referring to royal protection over the Church of his land. The metonymic use was probably a trace of the Hungarian nomenclature and it prompted Šišić to think it must have been added to the text after

262 *Ljetopis*, p. 57.
263 *Ljetopis*, p. 52.

the turn of the thirteenth century.[264] However, the corresponding point in the Croatian text also mentions the offence "suprotiva kralju i kruni, ča jest suprotiva svemu kraljestvu" (against the king and the crown, i.e. against the entire kingdom).[265] It can therefore be assumed that this fragment is not a late interpolation.

The protection of ecclesiastical goods was a distinguishing feature of a righteous and pious ruler. In this case, the Priest of Duklja's remark contained an even deeper idea. By combining Svetopelek with the concept of the royal Crown, the chronicler closely linked his authority not only to the land, but also to the community inhabiting it. Until the twelfth century, crimes against the royal majesty were treated first of all as an attack on God's laws, or a real violation of the corporeality of the ruler. However, the Priest of Duklja – following the concepts established in the thirteenth century by academic studies of Roman law[266] – linked the crime of *lèse-majesté* with constituted law, thus reserving its great significance not only for the Church, but also for the entire community of inhabitants in Svetopelek's realm. Such an identification of the king with an abstract concept of the Crown gave the Kingdom of the Slavs a new quality, and the king, space, law and community were presented in the narrative as the four most important aspects of an ideal realm.

8 Summary

The reign of King Svetopelek was the most fateful moment in the history of the fictitious state described by the Priest of Duklja. The ruler not only joined his kingdom to Christendom, but also, during the course of the congress on the plain of Dalma, created a new order by granting rights and establishing ecclesiastical and administrative governance.

The sources of the narrative of Svetopelek used by the Priest of Duklja are unknown. In the Croatian version the king is called Budimir, which was probably a later intervention in the text of the legend, perhaps motivated by the ambitions of the Kačić family. The details present in the text allow us, to some extent, to connect the figure of the Dalmatian king with the Great Moravian prince Svatopluk. Traces of the negative characteristics of the Moravian ruler known in the tradition of Cyril and Methodius are absent in *The Chronicle of*

264 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 431.

265 *Ljetopis*, p. 53.

266 Jolanta Komornicka, "Contra Signum Nostrum: The Symbolism of Lése-majesté under Philip VI Valois," in *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, eds. Albrecht Classen, Connie Scarborough (Berlin/Boston, 2012), pp. 189–225.

the Priest of Duklja. On the other hand, there is no description of an event similar to the Synod in Dalma in literature on the "Apostles to the Slavs". Fragments of Czech, Hungarian or Ruthenian chronicles show that the figure of Svatopluk could create its own legendary structures, and the possibility is not excluded that initially the report about the synod was another example of one of these independent structures.

The circumstances of the baptism of Dalmatian Svetopelek support the hypothesis linking this figure with the particular current of the tradition. In the Priest of Duklja's narrative, Constantine played a leading role in these events. Such a vision of the connection between the king and the missionary corresponds with similar legends about the Christianization of other Slavic states. The absence of the figure of Methodius in *Regnum Sclavorum* can be explained by the "black legend" of Constantine's brother circulated among Latin clergy in Dalmatia.

Both the image of the baptism and the decisions of the Synod in Dalma are subordinated to the main vision of solidifying the new community presented by the Priest of Duklja. In this vision Svetopelek plays the role of a king-founder and a legislator, leading to the reconciliation of the previously conflicted groups of the Latins and Slavs. New principles of ordering the state and the community have been presented as a return to ancient times. The geographical division is based, to a certain extent, on the concept of a universal empire, and also refers to the idea of renewing the Roman provinces, as is indicated by consistent nomenclature of toponyms throughout *The Chronicle*.

Dalma, an eponymous place of legendary character, was the symbolic centre of the Svetopelek's state. Dioclea, the archiepiscopal see – the place of the king's burial and coronation – became another. Salona, the most important city of the region, was somewhat marginalized, despite the fact that it became the see of the other archbishopric.

Although Svetopelek's baptism was rooted in Slavic tradition, it was completed in the events of the synod. During this event, Svetopelek rehabilitated coastal cities, granting them the most important place in the ecclesiastical organization of his state. The presence of Honorius, the papal legate, was to emphasize the pope's special protection over the converted king. The Roman legates played a much more important role in Dalma than the imperial envoys. It was Cardinal Honorius who crowned Svetopelek, and the Priest of Duklja marked the joining of the Kingdom of the Slavs to the Latin community by using the formula *more Romanorum regum* in the text.

Knowledge of the tradition of Svetopelek in Croatia and Dalmatia is confirmed by a fourteenth-century gloss in the margin of *Supetar Cartulary*. The text also includes information about the custom of electing Croatian kings. A similar vision was also presented by the so-called *Pacta conventa*. The Priest

of Duklja probably referred to this custom, emphasizing the special bonds between the king and provincial bans. Also, the very concept of identifying a ruler and law with the concept of the Crown suggests the thirteenth century as the earliest possible period for the formation of the legend.

As far as the narrative plane is concerned, the reign of Svetopelek was the period of the second phase of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The Priest of Duklja presented the ruler as united with the communities of particular lands represented by the magnates, and defined both: the borders of the kingdom and its ideal shape for a long time.

CHAPTER 5

King Pavlimir Bello: the Founder of Ragusa and the Restorer of the Kingdom

1 Introduction

The fragment about Pavlimir Bello contains one of the most colourful descriptions of a ruler in the whole of *Regnum Sclavorum*. One of these threads discusses King Bello, who was connected above all with the process of founding Ragusa. The ruler with this nickname is mentioned not only in the work by the Priest of Duklja, but also in the parallel tradition about the founding of the city. As we shall see, the author of the Latin version of *The Chronicle* also used this figure under the pretext of presenting a vision of the renewal of the Kingdom of the Slavs. In the text, Pavlimir functions both as the founder of the city, and as the restorer of the kingdom. His very nickname, Bello, suggests a further image: in line with the model of *rex bellicosus*, he also embodies a victorious ruler, whose life is marked by numerous successful campaigns.

In this chapter, we will look at the figure of Pavlimir Bello in the context of the three aforementioned functions of this ruler. We will begin our analysis with a description of the situation of the kingdom before his accession to the throne. This situation determined many later threads, hence examining it in detail may reveal a wider narrative perspective into which the figure of the king was placed.

To grasp the Priest of Duklja's concept fully, let us compare his text with several other available sources. The Croatian text of *The Chronicle* will help us with an initial description of the conflict between King Radoslav and his son, Časlav. The narrative however becomes inconsistent with the Latin variant, at exactly the moment when Pavlimir's father, and then also his son, are supposed to appear. Therefore, in further analysis we will have to abandon the Croatian version, from which nothing can be learnt regarding either the foundation of Dubrovnik, or of King Bello. Besides the Latin version of *The Chronicle*, we have several other texts that may constitute a source corpus regarding the origins of Ragusa, in particular, texts written before the sixteenth century. As we shall see, even though they share many elements with the story contained in *Regnum Sclavorum*, they also help us to notice those parts that are characteristic only for the Priest of Duklja's narrative.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_006

2 Prelude: the Conflict between King Radoslav and His Son. Comparative Analysis of the Latin and Croatian Variants of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

To understand the initial situation that led to Pavlimir's appearance in our story, we have to go back to the time of his grandfather, King Radoslav. The end of the reign of this ruler, according to the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, was marked with the actual collapse of the Slavic dynasty. The series of unfortunate events in *Regnum Sclavorum* began with a rebellion instigated by the ban of White Croatia, who rose up against the king. Radoslav divided the army between himself and his son Časlav and defeated the rebels; however, as it turned out, it did not complete his struggle to stay in power. Časlav – described by the Priest of Duklja as disobedient to his father in his youth[1] – passed the captives to his people so that they could benefit from the ransom, while Radoslav magnanimously liberated the rebels. In this situation, the royal troops, jealous of the unequal distribution of the booties, turned against the king. Časlav, "elevatus in superbiam" (elevated by pride),[2] used the situation to attack his father. Radoslav managed to flee and the Latin text provides a detailed description of his escape. First, the king went to a place called Lasta, but when he saw the approaching pursuers, stepped into the sea with his loyal team and reached a rock near the shore. Fortunately, he was taken by a ship sailing to Apulia.[3] Then, Radoslav went from the city of Sipont to Rome. Meanwhile, power over the Kingdom of the Slavs was taken by Časlav, "maledictus a patre" (cursed by his father).[4] The narrative about Radoslav in the Latin version is split in two by the description of the rule of his treacherous son. It is worth noting that in the variant known from *Regnum Sclavorum*, King Radoslav never returned to his kingdom.

In the Croatian version of the text, the description of the conflict between the father and the son is slightly different. In this, the name of the son was not Časlav, but Seislav. As in the Latin text, the Croatian version emphasized primarily his lack of humility, referring to him with the stigmatizing nickname "odmetnik": pariah, outlaw. This epithet is further explained: Seislav often opposed his father and planned to deprive him of power. In the Croatian text (at least in the extant variant) the mishaps were instigated not by the rebellion

1 "iuvenis effectus caepit esse inobediens patri suo", *Ljetopis*, p. 62.
2 *Ljetopis*, p. 62.
3 In L redaction, M: Apulia; H: Pulja; O: Puglia, *Ljetopis*, p. 63, note 112.
4 *Ljetopis*, p. 63.

of the ban which led to the mutiny of the royal troops against the ruler, but was on the initiative of Seislav himself.

The events could have been presented in a different way in the lost manuscript of the Croatian version, the so-called Papalić manuscript, which was possessed by Marulić and which he translated into Latin. It all began with the rebellion of a certain ban, named Bilić. In both texts – the fragment of the Croatian version and the translation made by Marulić – there is no toponym "White Croatia". The Marulić translation may, in this case, provide insight into the history of the distortions in particular variants of the text. The way in which the name of the ban, Bilić, was invented, is probably related to a mistake (or a deliberate interpolation) made by one of the copyists. He made it up in relation to the colour white (bijeli, bili), vaguely suggesting the origin of the rebel dignitary: White Croatia, as mentioned in the Latin text.[5]

However, the copyist's omission of the motif of the rebellion in the Croatian text may not have been a mistake. By omitting information about other reasons for the conflict, the opposition between the father, Radoslav, and the son, "odmetnik" Seislav, becomes more evident. The Croatian version describes Radoslav as "the good king" several times. In this narrative, good King Radoslav, seeing the evil nature of his son, decided to banish him from his country. In the next sentence, we read about Radoslav gathering the army and intending to attack the rebels, which suggests that there had previously been some conspiracy involving Seislav. Radoslav managed to suppress the threat; as the chronicler states, the land did not want to oppose its old ruler. The king was merciful to the defeated. Surprisingly, it was exactly that royal mercy that made Seislav angry. It seems that there are some losses in this fragment of the text, which becomes rather illogical: why did royal mercy provoke Seislav and his companions? Perhaps, however, this awkwardness on the part of the editor of the text is in fact another attempt to show Seislav's ruthlessness and hardness, and to contrast these qualities with the mercy and goodness of the old king. The son stopped "showing respect" to his father and "took" his ban, numerous *kneze*, centurions and knights. They all abandoned Radoslav "out of fear" of his offspring.[6] As a result of these events, Radoslav was forced to flee from his country. The description of his journey to Rome in the Croatian version was similar to that in the Latin one. In both versions, after giving the account of the route of the expelled Radoslav to Rome, the narrative is interrupted; however,

5 It could be a transformation similar to the turning of Svetopelek in the Latin version into Budimir, the king of "sveti puk" [Genetive: "svetogo puka"] in the Croatian version.

6 "Seislav za to na oca svoga razgnjiva i vaze mu vas posluh i poče mu činiti malo počtenja", *Ljetopis*, p. 62.

the author of the Croatian version continues the story of the king in a different way to that in the Latin text: after many years Radoslav returned to his kingdom with a papal blessing.[7]

Unlike in *Regnum Sclavorum*, the Croatian author bitterly criticizes Radoslav's subjects, emphasizes his own views on the character of royal power, and contrasts the father and son in this context. According to the chronicler, Seislav "expelled his father with the unfaithful Croatians, who feel better while ruled by fear and force than by good kindness".[8] Šišić considered this sentence to be a later interpolation.[9] It seems, however, that it consistently presents the same view of the essence of power, which was then repeated by the anonymous author of this text in the passage concerning the murder of King Zvonimir in the very finalization of the Croatian version. The subjects can also be blamed for the situation in the state, for they were not able to recognize accurately the features of a dynasty predestined to exercise power, yielding to strength and fear.

The basic difference between the description of the conflict *in Regnum Sclavorum* and the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* is connected with the evaluation of the figure of Radoslav. The author of the Latin text condemns Časlav for the intention to kill his father. It seems, however, that he also disapproves of Radoslav's weakness, the king who escaped from his own kingdom. In the Latin narrative there is no return for the ruler. In the Croatian text, Radoslav, after the death of his son, and thanking God's justice, returned from exile, and the consistency of his character is emphasized by the fact that he once again forgave his opponents.

Both anonymous authors assess the king's attitude differently. This divergence of opinions is evident in the way they describe Radoslav's escape. Both agree that the king and his men rushed to the sea and managed to reach the rock, in both narrations called "Radoslav's boulder".[10] However, according to the Croatian text, the king decided on this desperate act because of his faithful people, and escaped, "worrying more about them than about himself".[11] The Latin text omitted this responsible motivation. Instead, the Priest of Duklja

7 *Ljetopis*, p. 66.

8 "I progna dobrog kralja oca svoga s nevirnimi Hrvati, koji su bolji bili prid strahom i pitomiji pod silom, nere vladani dobrotom dobrimi", *Ljetopis*, p. 62.

9 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 407.

10 In the Latin text: "Radoslavi camich sive petra", while in the H. redaction: "Radosalj kami", *Ljetopis*, p. 63.

11 "s njima pobigoše tja, i veće se brinjaše njimi, nego sam sobom", *Ljetopis*, p. 63.

claims that Radoslav, after hearing about his pursuit by Časlav, fled into the sea "overcome with fear".[12]

The text of the Croatian version, although probably distorted in several places, portrayed the strife between Radoslav and Seislav as a conflict of the values represented by either figure. The author emphasized the "evil" choice of the subjects who opposed the "good" king. In the Latin text, such a valuation was pushed to the background, and the episode is simply another description of a clash between members of the dynasty. The deeds of Časlav/Seislav are stigmatized in both texts, but it was only in the Croatian version that his sin is considered to be more than just raising his hand against his father. Radoslav acquired the features of a biblical victim, and his conflict with his son was presented in terms of a struggle between mercy and force.

Nikola Banašević interpreted the conflict between Radoslav and Časlav as the implementation of a plan modelled after the story of David and Absalom.[13] He not only pointed to Časlav's later violent end as similar to Absalom's fate, but also observed that "David's successor was his son, yet not born from the same mother as Absalom". He referred to Radoslav's second marriage, which was contracted in Rome, and to the career of his grandson, Pavlimir. Such a juxtaposition is somewhat exaggerated, although it cannot be ruled out that the anonymous author referred in this place to the topoi associated with the biblical story. In fact, Radoslav as presented in *Regnum Sclavorum* – the king who banished himself, showing that he was not worthy of ruling – is further from David than the figure of the good King Radoslav from the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*. In the latter, justice is done with the help of God, and when Radoslav learns about the death of his son, he thanks God for avenging the mischiefs and goes, with a papal blessing, to regain the throne.[14] Perhaps this is also the reason for differences in the way the early part of the usurper's rule is characterized in both versions. In the Latin text, we read: "Ciaslavus, praeterea maledictus a patre, caepit regnare" (Časlav, although cursed by his father, began his reign),[15] while the Croatian text clearly states that when Seislav began to reign, he was cursed not by his father, but by God.[16]

---

12 "timore percussi", ibidem, p. 63. This is a correction of "tempore" in the edition of Lucius made by Šišić. See: F. Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 314, note 27.

13 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 82–83.

14 "Po tom učinjenju slisavše dobri kralj Radoslav gore [rečenu] dostojnu smrt sina svoga Seislava i nalidnikov njegovih, zafali Bogu, koji pravedeno sudi. I vrati se kralj k mistu svomu z blagoslovom svetog oca pape", *Ljetopis*, p. 66.

15 *Ljetopis*, p. 63.

16 *Ljetopis*, p. 64.

3 The End of Časlav's Rule: Interregnum

Časlav is perhaps one of the few rulers in this part of *Regnum Sclavorum* whose existence could be confirmed in other independent sources. When discussing this form, scholars often mentioned the name of Tzeeslav (Τζεέσθλαβος), a Serbian archon known from *De administando imperio*, a son of Klonimir and an unnamed Bulgarian woman. Constantine Porphyrogennetos suggested that Tzeeslav's rise to power was preceded by a period of internal struggle. The Bulgarians who seemed to support Tzeeslav, however, draw the Serbian župans into an ambush and kidnapped them, and then plundered and depopulated their lands. Porphyrogennetos also noted a legend about Tzeeslav, who, when he finally escaped from Bulgarian captivity, found only "fifty men without women and children" in the entire country "who subsisted on hunting".[17] Tzeeslav, with the help of the emperor, managed to strengthen his rule as an archon and raise the country from destruction, but after his death the family became extinct.

Porphyrogennetos undoubtedly noted here the local tradition associated with archon Tzeeslav. The motif of a depopulated land suggests semi-legendary tradition. Moreover, some similarities to the stories known from *The Chronicle* can be traced in the narrative itself. It is possible that the presence of the figure of Časlav in the Latin version of *The Chronicle* was an echo of a narrative shaped around the events described by Porphyrogennetos. The entire tale of Časlav's rule, however, differs significantly from the one known from *De administando imperio* and, above all, it was integrated into the overall structure of the Priest of Duklja's work. That is how we should see the description of the interregnum after the death of the king-usurper; however, we should not suspect here any apparent connection to Tzeeslav's death and the end of the alleged Vlastimirović dynasty, as some historians have interpreted this information.[18]

In *Regnum Sclavorum*, the fate of King Časlav is first and foremost the result of his offenses against his father, and it is this sin that ultimately leads to his downfall. This time, the author of the Latin text does not refer to divine justice (*divinum iudicum*), which seems to confirm our recent conclusions from an analysis of the differences between the Croatian and Latin versions. The Priest of Duklja does not see divine intervention in Časlav's defeat, although he repeatedly described its manifestations in other places. Divine justice was manifested, for example, in the circumstances of the death of the treacherous

17 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 32, pp. 152–160.

18 On identification of Časlav i Tzeeslav: Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 133, notes 113–115; Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, pp. 177–178.

Vladislav;[19] divine intervention led to the fall of King Legec and his seven sons, punished by God with the plague;[20] and also to the defeat of the brothers of King Bodin who were killed in battle because God did not like the sins of their father.[21] It is enough to mention once again the fragment of the Croatian text in which Radoslav gives thanks to God when he learns that his son has died, to see that in *Regnum Sclavorum* Časlav's death is presented in a slightly different tone: it did not lead to a betterment of the situation in the country. In the Latin variant, Radoslav did not return from Rome, and the end of Časlav's rule was followed by the period of interregnum.

According to all available versions of *The Chronicle*, the death of the sinful Časlav was violent and shameful. Although he achieved some temporary war successes defeating the troops of Hungarian princeps Kys in the battle of Civelino (the chronicler explains the etymology of the place claiming that the "Hungarians wailed like [slaughtered] pigs"), yet soon afterwards he shared their fate.

Časlav's military victories could be attributed to the merit of Tychomil, a hero who helped him. Good fortune deserted the ruler shortly after the battle, when Tychomil (it seems) was no longer with him. Information that Časlav was defeated by the widow of the princeps Kys could have emphasized his military awkwardness: his defeat was caused by an army commanded by a woman. According to the Latin text, Časlav was surprised in his camp and taken prisoner, then bound and thrown into the Sava River. Other versions offer even more shameful details. In the Croatian version King Seislav, before his death, was shown tethered in public for an entire day.[22] Orbini and Marulić, in their translations of manuscripts that have not survived, state that his nose and ears were cut off.[23] His degrading execution was appropriate to a sinner – and undeserved to a king.

In *Regnum Sclavorum*, along with Časlav, "his whole house"[24] is also killed. And, although the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* also emphasizes that "pojde po zlu Seislav i vas dom njegov" (Seislav and his family were ended

19 *Ljetopis*, p. 59.

20 "Sed deus omnipotens, cui cuncta bona placent et displicent omnia mala atque peccata, brevi in tempore percussit patrem, claudum corpore et anima, et filios eius pestilentia et clade, quemadmodum percusserunt ipsi fraters et nepotes suos", *Ljetopis*, pp. 76–77.

21 "Caeteri autem fratres Bodini, quia displicuit deo peccatum patris eorum propter periurium, [...] omnes in bello mortui sunt vivente patre oerum", *Ljetopis*, p. 95.

22 *Ljetopis*, p. 66.

23 *Ljetopis*, p. 66, note 127; Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 215; M. redaction: *Regvm Delmatię atqve Croatię gesta*, p. 54; Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 410.

24 *Ljetopis*, p. 66: "Conversus est dolor eius in peccatum, quo exercuit circa patrem suum super caput eius et periit ipse et domus eius tota".

violently),[25] the consequence of the death of the ruler was not an interruption of succession, because power was taken back by the returning Radoslav. In the Latin text, to the contrary, Časlav's death resulted in an interregnum and the actual break-up and disintegration of the state. The Priest of Duklja writes: "[…] Remansit terra sine rege et bani caeperunt dominari terram suam unusquique super provincias et regiones subiugaveruntque sibi iupanos et ab eis tributa accipiebant, sicut rex solebant accipere".[26] (The country was left without a king, and the bans began to administer their own land, each of them their own province and area, and they subordinated the župans, charging them with tribute, as the king used to do. However, not one of them had the courage to call himself a king). Despite the seizure of royal prerogatives, none of the župans and bans proclaimed themselves king. Even Tychomil, the hero and confidant of the killed usurper, who at that time had already seized Raška and proclaimed himself a great župan, did not go as far as to proclaim himself king.

The figure of Tychomil within the narrative is important for several reasons: firstly, he is one of the most important elements connecting the narrative of the rule of Časlav to the rule of Pavlimir. Secondly, the fate of Tychomil and his successors, mentioned by the Priest of Duklja in a later part of the work, would have an impact on the decisions of successive Slavonic kings. For these reasons we should focus further on Tychomil.

4 Tychomil's Career: a Trace of the Lost Traditions of Raška Župans or a Literary Adaptation of the Biblical Topos?

There are many indications that the motif of Tychomil is an independent inclusion in the narrative structure. Tychomil, the son of a priest from the village of Rabika, was a shepherd in the country of Sraga, and an excellent runner and hunter. He grazed the herds of prince Budislav and often accompanied him in hunting, until he accidentally killed Paluša, a favourite bitch of the prince, by whipping her to death. Fearing revenge from Budislav, he escaped and found protection with Časlav.[27] This rather enigmatic fragment is highly likely to have some hidden meaning which is obscure to today's readers. We can intuitively sense the traces of a separate narrative in the shepherd topos, in the characteristic origin of Tychomil, in his intimacy with the prince, and in the killing of

25 *Ljetopis*, p. 66.
26 *Ljetopis*, p. 68.
27 *Ljetopis*, p. 64.

Paluša – the most enigmatic motif. The story includes *loci communes* known from legends and romances.[28] We will return to them later in our analysis.

The figure of Tychomil appears once again in a description of the invasion by princeps Kys. During the abovementioned battle at Civelino, Tychomil contributed greatly to Časlav's victory and showed great courage. It also seems that he had a conflict with Kys, because he hunted him down on the battlefield, and killed him. Then he cut off the head of the Magyar leader and placed it before Časlav. The king repaid Tychomil by appointing him a župan of Drina and giving him the daughter of a ban of Raška, which is important, because we know that after the death of his father-in-law, Tychomil was indeed titled a župan of Raška. After the fall of Časlav and that of the kingdom, Tychomil – probably the greatest of magnates – adopted the title of "the great župan", although even he did not dare to call himself a king or a ban, as was emphasized by the Priest of Duklja.[29] Tychomil is mentioned for the last time on the occasion of problems caused to Pavlimir by his descendant Ljutomir, a župan of Raška. We know that although Ljutomir was defeated after the death of King Pavilimir Bello, the heirs of Tychomil regained independence and ruled Raška autonomously as its great župans.[30]

The story of Tychomil, on the one hand, has a structure similar to that of a heroic legend, while on the other hand it is closely related to the history of Raška and the local lineage of župans. It may be justified to suppose that in fact it is some dynastic legend incorporated into the text of *The Chronicle*. Unfortunately, as in the case of the historical character of the figure of Časlav, the lack of more reliable information does not allow anything more than asking many questions and formulating hypotheses.[31]

Even Banašević, who generally showed a critical attitude towards seeking the influence of oral epics or folk legends in *Regnum Sclavorum*, found it

---

28 The legendary motif of a hunting dog in ancient literature is so common that it is impossible to discuss it here. In most legends, however, a dog kills a hunter, not the other way around. Paweł Żmudzki mentioned in this context the extremely well-known story of Actaeon, but also Biblical stories about Ahab and Jezebel: Paweł Żmudzki, "Psy Jaćwingów. Dlaczego Marcin Kromer zinterpretował rocznikarską zapiskę o zwycięstwie Leszka Czarnego inaczej niż Jan Długosz," in *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, eds. Andrzej Pleszczyński, Joanna Sobiesiak, Michał Tomaszek (Lublin, 2012), pp. 76–95.

29 "Tyc[h]omil etiam, defuncto socero, dominabatur terram Rassam, sed nec regem nec banum ausus est se vocare, sed tantum iupanum maiorem ideo", *Ljetopis*, p. 69.

30 *Ljetopis*, pp. 71–72.

31 One example of such presumptions would be the recurring hypothesis about historicity of Tychomil: Muhaemd Hadžijahić, "Tihomir iz 'Kronike popa Dukljanina' – historijska ličnost?," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH* 17 (1966–1967), pp. 397–418.

legitimate to associate certain threads in the narrative about Tychomil with a heroic tale, and admitted that in the case of Tychomil such a source of inspiration cannot be excluded.[32] However, in the later South Slavic folk epic known to us, there are no tales that would resemble stories similar to that of Tychomil, prince Budislav or their hunting together. In the duel between Tychomil and princeps Kys, Banašević saw traces of the Biblical story of David.[33] Tychomil, the shepherd decapitating sinister Kys and bringing his head to Časlav, was similar to David, who cut off Goliath's head and gave it as homage to Saul. Banašević even quoted the words said by Goliath to David, according to The Book of Samuel (1Sm 17:43) – "numquid ego canis sum, quod tu venis ad me cum baculo?" (Am I a dog, that you come to me with a stick?) – noticing here a similarity to the motif of the killing of Budislav's dog Paluša, who he hit with a whip,[34] although in our opinion this interpretation is rather strained. In another place, fairly guardedly, he hypothesized on the name of princeps Kys – in Hungarian, *kis* means small – in which he wanted to see an inverted image of the giant champion of the Philistines.[35] There are many more similar coincidences; for example, Kish was the name of the father of Saul, mentioned in the Bible in the passages describing the duel of David and Goliath. The attempt to link the two stories, of Tychomil and of David, was repeated by Živković,[36] and is still an uncertain but reasonable way of interpreting the motif of the mysterious hero. However, such an interpretation is rather superficial, for the indicated analogies are often based on comparisons of the physiognomy of the characters and the course of their struggles, which may be considered an over-interpretation; in these circumstances, some common features could be derived from the requirements of the narrative structure of the description of the duel itself, repeating a specific kind of image. The correspondence of the details does not have to result from the fact that the story of Tychomil was intentionally made up to imitate the biblical story of David and Goliath. It could simply have resulted from a limited set of writing means to illustrate this type of battle-related theme.

The sources of the story can also be traced somewhere else. For example, Šišić interpreted the name Kys differently. He found in it another confirmation of the hypothesis that the descriptions of the fights between Časlav and the Magyars was an echo of historical struggles between the Byzantine Empire and Hungary. Šišić, who traced the name "Tzeeslav" in the work by

---

32 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 86.

33 Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, p. 64, note 121.

34 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 85–87.

35 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 88, note 40.

36 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 200–201.

Constantine Porphyrogennetos, also noticed a character called Chyz, Chiz or Ciz in *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*.[37] According to the chronicle, Chyz, a comes, was killed fighting against the Byzantines in 1128.

Medini interpreted the character of Kys in quite a different way. He speculated that the name "Kys" could simply be derived from the noun "kiskanje". Vuk Karadžić translated it as "mournful crying", while Joakim Stulić explained it as an exclamation phrase of chasing something away (compare Polish "a kysz!", 'out, begone, pish'), related to the verb *skukahu* [wail] used in the text. According to Medini, the latter word has an etymological connection with Civelino, the location of the battle described by the Priest of Duklja.[38]

Interestingly, neither the Croatian text nor its Latin translation made by Marulić contain the name of Kys;[39] in the former text, the opponent of Tychomil is described as a nameless *herceg na Ugrih* [duke of Hungary]. In those redactions, both themes, Tychomil's pastoral adventure and the killing of the pointer Paluša,[40] as well as the motive of the Hungarians attack on Časlav's kingdom, are related as a cause-and-effect series. For the commander of the Hungarian troops is the same vengeful prince who caused Tychomil to seek refuge with Seislav.[41] In such a narrative system, the reason for the invasion of the Hungarians is explained as their desire to take revenge on Tychomil. It also justifies the rather exhaustive description of the duel, in which Tychomil cuts off the head of the Hungarian duke. The tale is undoubtedly more dramatic and coherent – and that cannot be said about the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*. It is difficult to decide, however, whether it is an older version of some legend primarily focused on the conflict between the hero (Tychomil) and *herceg*, or rather the author of the Croatian variant decided to relate Tychomil's adventures even more in the convention of a heroic legend.

Linking the figure of Tychomil with the tradition formed in connection with the lineage of the rulers of Raška, and later associated with the Nemanjić

37 *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, chapter 58, Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici vol. 2, ed. Mátyás Florianus (Leipzig, 1883), p. 211 [in this edition: "Ciz"].

38 Milorad Medini, *Starine dubrovačke* (Dubrovnik, 1935), p. 47.

39 Črnčić, noting the translation by Marulić, believed that manuscript of the Croatian text possessed by Marulić included the name "Kys", later distorted in translation as "Hic", see: *Ljetopis*, p. 64, note 121.

40 The motif of killing the dog was omitted in all early editions of the translation by Marulić, but – as it was proved by Branimir Glavičić, who analysed early manuscripts of the text – it was probably the fault of Lucius, who omitted this passage in the first printed edition: Branimir Glavičić, "Je li Marulić izostavio epizod s Palušom?," *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997), pp. 87–91.

41 "(…) kneza ali hercega na Ugrih", *Ljetopis*, p. 64; "(…) principis Vdislaui inter Pannones nobilissimi (…)"; *Regvm Delmatię atqve Croatię gesta*, p. 52; Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 409.

dynasty, is also rather uncertain. The name of Tychomil was associated with the Nemanjić family in various ways by late Serbian annals. Živković paid particular attention to those of them which, while listing the ancestors of Nemanja, called Tychomil the uncle of Čudomir,[42] i.e. which presented both figures in a relationship similar to the one between a certain Tišemir, son of Pavlimir Bello, and his father-in-law, a Croatian ban called Čudomir (as described by the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum*). However, it does not seem possible to state on this basis (as Živković suggests) that this is a thirteenth-century legend about the origins of the great župan Raška which is a point of reference of all the later annals mentioning Tychomil as a member of the Nemanjić family tree. Also, in Orbini's *Il regno degli Slavi*, there is a reference to Tychomil and Simeon being sons of Stefan Nemanja.[43] However, as Nikola Radojčić noted, Orbini simply repeated the mistake included in *Imperia Graeci historia*, the Latin translation of the work by Byzantine chronicler Niketas Choniates. The anonymous translator of *Imperia …* wrote about Simeon, the son of Nemanja.[44] In fact, "Simeon" was not the name of an alleged successor of the Serbian ruler, but the monastic name of Nemanja himself. Hence also the figure of Tychomil in the work by Orbini might have been inspired by the erroneous placement of Tihomir, the real brother of Stefan Nemanja, on the ancestral tree.

Later Serbian genealogies and annals provide a wide range of possibilities for historians' imaginations. Ljubomir Kovačević once suggested that Pavlimir Bello is identical to Beli Uroš, the ancestor of Nemanja mentioned in genealogies,[45] although there are no premises for this assertion apart from some phonetic similarity. The origin of the Nemanjić dynasty is a mystery to this day, which only encourages historians to propose the next hypotheses on this subject. Our knowledge on the genealogy of Stefan Nemanja is surprisingly limited. We also do not know much about the dynastic traditions of Raška župans preceding the narrative about the sacred branch (*sveta loza*) of the Nemanjić family.[46] The political program of Rastko Nemanjić (St. Sava) was connected with the monastery in Žiča, the centre of autocephaly. It

42 *Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, ed. Ljubomir Stojanović (Belgrade/Sremski Karlovci, 1927), p. 184; Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 200.

43 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, p. 243, 249.

44 See: Nikola Radojčić, *Srpska istorija Mavra Orbinija* (Belgrade, 1950), p. 27.

45 Ljubomir Kovačević, "Nekoliko pitanja o Stefanu Nemanji: prilog kritici izvora za srpsku istoriju XII veka," *Glas – Srpska kralijevska akademija* 58 (1900), pp. 43–45.

46 See: Jan Leśny, *Studia nad początkami serbskiej dynastii Nemaniczów* (*połowa XI–koniec XII wieku*) (Wrocław, 1989), including also extensive literature. See also: Angeliki Papageorgiou, "The Earliest Mention of Stefan Nemanja in Byzantine Sources," in *Niš i Vizantija XII*, ed. Miša Rakocija (Niš, 2015), pp. 39–47.

effectively ruled out any side issues within the official ideology of Serbian kings.[47] The double coronation of Stefan Nemanjić (even if it was only an invention of the chronicler) clearly indicates the two sources of power of the great župans. As shown by Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, the rulers of Raška and Serbia, in their efforts for papal support and a crown from Rome, also had to put themselves in the role of the heirs of the rulers of Duklja.[48] In the wake of the inclusion of Duklja and the coastal areas under direct Serbian authority, and after establishing the uniform dynastic narrative related to the figures of Stefan Nemanja and his two sons, this part of the ideological heritage of the Nemanjić dynasty, loosely connected with the mainstream, quickly ceased to play a greater role. It is inconclusive whether Tychomil's story could be such a non-program legend of the origin of Raška župans (over time deprived of pragmatic meaning), or whether its possible connections could be interpreted only as evidence that later authors of Serbian annals and genealogies knew the motifs of *Regnum Sclavorum*.

5 The Narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* and Other Medieval Sources about the Founding of Ragusa

The actual narrative of Pavlimir, known as Bello, starts after the description of the interregnum, when the Priest of Duklja changed the plan of events by moving the action of the work to Rome. However, the deeds of Pavlimir cannot be separated from the history of founding another city – Ragusa. In the Latin text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the later king of the Slavs is described as the founder of this important centre. In the Croatian text there is no such story. The mention of the death of Časlav is the last passage in which the plot of both texts basically overlaps, and we can speak of quite considerable accord between the two variants. As for the events which took place after the death of Časlav, the Croatian and Latin authors began to present them in a completely different way, so references to the old-Croatian text can no longer help us in interpreting the events related to the figure of Pavlimir.

The last event appearing in both versions is the reception by Radoslav, based in Rome, of the news about the death of his son, the usurper. We have

47 See: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija* (Belgrade, 1997), pp. 100–117. On Žiča: Błażej Szefliński, *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna, autokreacja, postać literacka* (Łódź, 2016), pp. 113–126.

48 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "Istorijskopolitički kontekst scene miropomazanja u đakonikonu crkve Uspenja Bogorodice u monastiru Morači," in *Monastir Morača*, eds. Branislav Todić, Danica Popović (Belgrade, 2006), pp. 45–55.

already mentioned this event in the context of the curse imposed on Časlav. In the Croatian text, the exiled king returned with a papal blessing "to his place".[49] The Priest of Duklja, on the other hand, gave a description of "the land without the king", and after outlining the situation in the kingdom, he presented the events taking place in Rome at that time: "Praeterea parentes regis Radaslavi et milites, qui cum ipso erant Romae, audientes quo accidit, rogaverunt regem, ut uxorem acciperet"[50] (When the relatives of King Radoslav and the soldiers who stayed with him in Rome heard what had happened, they urged the king to marry). Such a development of the motif of the exiled monarch may confirm our supposition that in the eyes of the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the ruler, who had previously escaped in fear from the state, was not the best candidate to bring order to the lands already divided by magnates. On the other hand – according to the Priest of Duklja – a king able to unify the Kingdom of the Slavs again should come from Radoslav's family.

Radoslav married a Roman aristocrat and became the father of Petrislav. When the old king died, he was buried in the church of St. John Lateran.[51] The reference to this particular church may be linked somehow to the verse on the "papal blessing" preserved in the Croatian text. In addition, the fifteenth-century *Annales Ragusisni* reported that King Radoslav enjoyed papal protection in Rome and was elevated there to the rank of *capitanio*.[52] The text limits the role of Petrislav to marrying another noble Roman girl and fathering Pavlimir. After the death of Petrislav, a conflict broke out between his family

49 "I vrati se kralj k mistu svomu z blagoslavom svetog oca pape", *Ljetopis*, pp. 66.

50 *Ljetopis*, p. 69.

51 "Qui coactus eorum precibus accepit uxorem Romanam, valde nobilibus ortam natalibus, de qua genuit filium, quem Petrislavum vocavit. Post haec in senectute bona mortuus est et sepultus in ecclesia sancti Ioannis Lateranensis cum magna honorificentia", *Ljetopis*, p. 69. Both Šišić and Mošin emphasize the significance of this very church, which until 1305 was one of the most important Roman temples. It burned down in 1308 and – according to scholars – did not manage to regain its previous position: *Ljetopis*, p. 69, note 132.

52 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 3; Živković associates this vague function with the Byzantine title "katepano", although, as he emphasized, he referred to the meaning from before 1100: Tibor Živković, "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello," in idem, *Forging Unity. The south Slavs between east and west 550–1150* (Belgrade, 2008), pp. 210–211. Kunčević thought that information about the cordial relationship between the pope and the ancestors of Pavlimir had been invented by Dubrovnik-based chroniclers, an element of ideology of the urban patriciate and "enhancement" of *Regnum Sclavorum*, which was laconic as far as this subject is concerned. This makes the fact that the papal blessing was mentioned only in the Croatian text of *The Chronicle* (not connecting the motif of the king's return with foundation of the city) even more surprising: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 70–71.

and the “other Romans”.[53] This conflict caused Pavlimir, his faithful people and their families to decide to leave the city.[54]

This is where the motif of Ragusa was introduced. The very story of the foundation of the city is much older and was probably composed of several previously separate motifs.[55] The Priest of Duklja presented it in a rather digressive manner, and the narrative of this fragment is somewhat inconsistent This time, the usually enigmatic author decided to describe the background of Pavlimir’s return in detail, abandoning Rome and discussing events taking place in Dalmatia. Šišić noticed that the way this fragment is presented differs from the rest of the text, and disrupts its structure. The part describing the conflict in Rome and Pavlimir’s youth is interrupted by a detailed discussion of the Saracen invasion of Dalmatian cities, and a description of the tensions that soon developed between the Latins, fleeing from the invaders, and the Slavs. This digression suggests to us that the Priest of Duklja had access to a source describing these events. For Šišić the case was clear. He was convinced that the discontinuity in the text was caused by later glosses. He also managed to locate the background of the history of the invasion. In his opinion, it refers to the events of 841, when, on the second day of Easter, the Muslim pirates commanded by Kalfun attacked and sacked Ancona, Osor, Budva, Rosa and Kotor: “(…) this information bears all the features of an old record, prepared just after 841”[56] stated Šiśić.

Even if he was right and correctly identified the echoes of the real events in the Priest of Duklja’s narrative, it is quite improbable that the abovementioned fragment was a late gloss (in fact Šišić often proposed such an explanation), as the passage seems to fit too well into the Priest of Duklja’s narrative to be an addition. The issue of the consolidation of the Latins and the Slavs under

53 “Post mortem vero eius, parentes eius caeperunt habere inimicitias cum caeteris Romanis …”: *Ljetopis*, p. 69.

54 *Ljetopis* , p. 70.

55 Irena Benyovsky Latin recently published excellent studies examining the process of constructing the urban identity of Dalmatian cities in narrative sources from the late medieval and early modern periods. She interpreted the story about the beginnings of Ragusa, known from *Regnum Sclavorum*, in the broader context of a social and ethnic shift in the population of the city, which had to absorb the Slavic elements of its identity. Irena Benyovsky Latin, “Grad i zaleđe u narativnim vrelima: konstruiranje tradicije o ranosrednjovjekovnim doseljenjima u Dubrovnik iz slavenskog zaleđa,” *Acta Historiae* 25 (2017), pp. 473–510; eadem, “Introduction. Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/ or Fiction?,” in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/or Fiction?*, eds. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić (Zagreb, 2017), pp. 13–60.

56 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 444.

the joint leadership of the Slavic monarch is also close to the general message of the work. In addition, the description of the destruction of Dalmatian cities and the consequences of this appears in the narrative for a specific purpose, and fulfils an important function in the general story of the founding of Ragusa. Traces of the numerous *loci communes* that often appear in legends about the foundation of capitals or states are noticeable, too.[57] Moreover, it can be assumed that King Pavlimir was included in a multi-threaded tale in which older stories about the beginnings of Ragusa were collected. Let us try to distinguish the particular motifs that build a global narrative:

1. The city of Epidaurus is sacked.
2. Its inhabitants flee and establish Ragusa.
3. Newcomers arrive from outside. They also establish a city and ultimately merge with the former inhabitants of Epidaurus.
4. The militant king of the Slavs rules in the vicinities of Dubrovnik.

Only the fourth point of story is connected directly with Pavlimir Bello. The process of linking him with the tale of the origins of the city can be traced through other medieval records about the founding of Ragusa. Besides *Regnum Sclavorum*, these records include: relevant fragments of *De administando imperio* of Constantine Porphyrogennetos; *Historia Salonitana* of Thomas the Archdeacon; the Latin poem by Miletius; and the anonymous *Annales Ragusini*, presumably from the end of the fifteenth century.[58] The latter are preserved in several slightly distinct early modern manuscripts, some of which were published together with the text of *Annali di Ragusa* by Nicola Ragnina in the sixteenth century.[59]

---

57 See: Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne*, pp. 7–44 – above all, the legend on the arrival of Grakchus/Krak; Třeštik, *Mytý kmene Čechů*, pp. 99–126 – about foundation of Prague in the context of cosmogonic myth of the Slavs.

58 Natko Nodilo, the nineteenth-century editor, believed that the beginnings of *Annales Ragusini* should be sought even as early as the fourteenth century. He based his edition on three of the eight manuscripts known to him. Fragments of several others were published by Vikentij Makušev: *Izsledovanija ob hisioričeskih pamjatrtikah i bitopisateljah Dubrovnika* [Викентий Макушев, *Исследования об исторических памятниках и бытописателях Дубровника*] (Sankt Petersburg, 1867).

59 Medieval narrative sources mentioning the beginnings of the city should also be supplemented with the work *Historia Ragusii*, authored by the Italian writer Johannes Conversini of Ravenna (Ivan Revenjanin) who visited the city in the second half of the fourteenth century. Brogi Bercoff claimed however that Conversini – because of his style and technique – must be treated rather as a representative of Italian humanism: Brogi Bercoff, "Humanistyczne dziejopisarstwo w Dalmacji i Chorwacji: wzory włoskie i mity narodowe," in eadem, *Królestwo Słowian*, p. 30. On specifics of medieval records about the foundation of Ragusa in comparison with modern works about the origins of the city, see: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 26–32 passim.

As far as the issue of the interdependence of the abovementioned texts is concerned, regardless of the controversy surrounding the adopted dating of *The Chronicle*, it seems unlikely that Thomas the Archdeacon knew the content of this work. Since Šišić's time, many scholars, pointing to the similarities of some motifs described by Thomas, claimed the impact of the Priest of Duklja's text on them. These suppositions concerned, among others, the Gothic theme and the motif of the founding of Ragusa, which are present in both works. Thus, what should be a rather cautious assumption was actually presented as strong evidence in literature on the subject.[60] Even Mijušković, who proposed a theory of a much later genesis for *The Chronicle*, could not address this issue in a convincing manner.[61] Živković, however, noticed that in many places where the narratives of Thomas the Archdeacon and the anonymous author of *The Chronicle* are similar, the Thomas' version is broader and more comprehensive, which may suggest that the information flowed in the opposite direction.[62] Nevertheless, analysis of the story of the origins of Ragusa in both works indicates that the vision of the course of events related to the founding of the city was quite coherent and widespread during the time of the chroniclers; it could have been incorporated into each work independently, and the impact of one work on the other was not necessary.

Also, *De administando imperio*, the oldest of the abovementioned works, could not have affected the content of the other narratives in any way. In fact, the work of Constantine Porphyrogennetos was virtually unknown until the beginning of the seventeenth century: its first Latin version by Johannes Meursius was published in 1611.[63] There may have been a copy of Constantine's work in the library of St. Andrew's Monastery near Ragusa, and Živković speculated that Orbini, and possibly Ludovicus Tuberon (1459–1527), might have used it. However, he believed that the manuscript was brought there only by Tuberon, who could have come into possession of it – or simply read the content of the work – during his studies in Paris. There is no indication, however, that *De administando imperio* was known in Dalmatia before the fifteenth century.[64]

---

60 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 50n.; Mošin, "Uvod," in *Ljetopis*, p. 23. While Mijušković was not convinced by Šišić (Mijušković, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, p. 49), Leśny thought that "it cannot be doubted" that Thomas the Archdeacon made used of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*: Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 26.

61 Mijušković, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, p. 49.

62 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 333.

63 Tibor Živković, "Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors before 1611," in idem, *Forging Unity*, pp. 157–173.

64 Živković, "Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors," pp. 166–173.

Regarding the other abovementioned texts, the poem by Miletius and the interesting fragment of anonymous *Annales Ragusini* are closely linked to the tradition of local Dubrovnik-based chroniclers. It is not inconceivable that the author of *Annales* knew Miletius' verses, although the narration about the foundation of the city does not indicate this conclusively. The relationship between both the abovementioned texts and *Regnum Sclavorum* is not clear. Primarily, did the author of the Ragusa annals know – at least indirectly – any narrative motifs recognizable in the text of *The Chronicle*? There are many indications that he did, though in the case of the episode in which we are interested, he probably gained additional information from local sources. There is also the possibility of a back influence in connection with the hypothesis that the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* was elaborated and completed in Ragusa. The work was probably brought to the city only by Tuberon, who owned a copy and entitled it *Docleatis authoris annales* (*The Author Docleata's Annals*).[65]

The textual dependence between *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Annales Ragusini* is uncertain, though many fragments of the latter were undoubtedly supplemented with information also known from *The Chronicle*. Besides this, direct borrowings among other early accounts describing the beginning of Ragusa can probably be excluded. In this context, however, the similarity of these narratives is even more striking. Not only the broader plot structures, but even the characteristic details reappear in various configurations. Reading them, we may have an impression similar to listening to several people who each try to summarize or repeat a text they have heard or read.

The repetitiveness of the motifs in all the stories about the birth of Ragusa was noticed by Radoslav Katičić, who suggested that all accounts were based on a single source, now lost. In this hypothetical text, King Bello was not mentioned. He appeared only in *Regnum Sclavorum* – where this nickname is given to Pavlimir – and later in *Annales Ragusini*, in which the deeds of King Radoslav Bello who came from Rome were an important element of the narrative. However, traces of older traditions in *Regnum Sclavorum* are often only a pretext to tell stories of the renewal of the kingdom. In the next part we will analyse Katičić's hypothesis and the many records which mention the events related to the origins of Ragusa, but which are silent about the king.

65 *Lvdovici Tvberonis Comentarii de temporibvs svis*, p. 90. Kunčević's opinion was different. Referring to the findings of Šišić, he considered that *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* had been known in Dubrovnik since the thirteenth century and made this assumption analysing the development of local historiography about the origins of the city: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 34n.

6 Establishing Ragusa without the King: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, Thomas the Archdeacon, and Miletius

Let us start with the oldest source which describes the foundation of Ragusa – *De administrando imperio*, a political manual edited by Constantine Porphyrogennetos in the tenth century. The emperor in the relevant passage of Chapter 29 mentioned the problem of the etymology of the name of the city, describing the circumstances in which it was founded:

> … The city of *Ragusa* is not called Ragusa in the tongue of the Romans but, because it stands on cliffs, it is called in Roman speech 'the cliff, lau'; whence they are called *'Lausaioi'*, i.e. 'those who have their seat on the cliff'. But vulgar usage, which frequently corrupts names by altering their letters, has changed the denomination and called them *Rausaioi.* These same Rausaioi of old used to possess the city that is called *Pitaura*; and since, when the other cities were captured by the Slavs, who were in the province, this city too was captured, and some were slaughtered and others taken prisoner, and those who were able to escape and reach safety settled in the almost precipitous spot where the city now is; they built it small to begin with, and afterwards enlarged it, and later still extended its wall until the city reached its present size, owing to their gradual spreading out and increase in population. Among those who migrated to Ragusa are: Gregory, Arsaphius, Victorinus, Vitalius, Valentine the archdeacon, Valentine the father of Stephen the protospatharius. From their migration from Salona to Ragusa, it is 500 years till this day, which is the 7th indiction, the year 6457. In this same city lies St. Pancratius, in the church of St. Stephen, which is in the middle of this same city.[66]

---

66 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 29, p. 134 [translated by Romilly J. H. Jenkins]: "῞Οτι τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Ῥαουσίου οὐ καλεῖται Ῥαούσι τῇ Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτῳ, ἀλλ´ ἐπεὶ ἐπάνω τῶν κρημνῶν ἵσταται, λέγεται ῥωμαϊστὶ 'ὁ κρημνὸς λαῦ'· ἐκλήθησαν δὲ ἐκ τούτου Λαυσαῖοι, ἤγουν 'οἱ καθεζόμενοι εἰς τὸν κρημνόν'. Ἡ δὲ κοινὴ συνήθεια, ἡ πολλάκις μεταφθείρουσα τὰ ὀνόματα τῇ ἐναλλαγῇ τῶν γραμμάτων, μεταβαλοῦσα τὴν κλῆσιν Ῥαουσαίους τούτους ἐκάλεσεν. Οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ Ῥαουσαῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκράτουν τὸ κάστρον τὸ ἐπιλεγόμενον Πίταυρα, καὶἐπειδή, ἡνίκα τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκρατήθησαν κάστρα παρὰ τῶν Σκλάβων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῷ θέματι, ἐκρατήθη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον κάστρον, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσφάγησαν, οἱ δὲ ᾐχμαλωτίσθησαν, οἱ δὲ δυνηθέντες ἐκφυγεῖν καὶ διασωθῆνα ιεἰς τοὺς ὑποκρήμνους τόπους κατῴκησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἐστιν ἀρτίως τὸ κάστρον, οἰκοδομήσαντες αὐτὸ πρότερον μικρόν, καὶ πάλιν μετὰ ταῦτα μεῖζον, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ τεῖχος αὐτοῦ αὐξήσαντες μέχρι † δ'ἔχειν † τὸ κάστρον διὰ τὸ πλατύνεσθαι αὐτοὺς κατ´ ὀλίγον καὶ πληθύνεσθαι. Ἐκ δὲ τῶν μετοικησάντων εἰς τὸ Ῥαούσιον εἰσὶν οὗτοι· Γρηγόριος, Ἀρσάφιος, Βικτωρῖνος, Βιτάλιος, Βαλεντῖνος, ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων, Βαλεντῖνος, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ πρωτοσπαθαρίου Στεφάνου. Ἀφ´ οὗ δὲ ἀπὸ Σαλῶνα μετῴκησαν εἰς τὸ Ῥαούσιον, εἰσ ὶνἔτη φ' μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ἥτις ἰνδικτιὼν ζ' ἔτους,

The story passed by Porphyrogennetos contains several particularly interesting motifs. As in the Priest of Duklja's account, the prelude to the story in *De administrando imperio* was the sacking of old Dalmatian cities. Instead of the destructive Saracens mentioned in *Regnum Sclavorum*, Porphyrogennetos reports about Slavs. In this fragment Pitaura (Epidaurus) gained a special position among the destroyed cities. Refugees from this city first built a small fortress (τὸ κάστρον), then also another one, larger, forced by circumstances.

Katičić claimed that "no other source includes a legend of the extension of Dubrovnik and surrounding of the city with new walls". He also believed that this is information that "can easily become the fruit of guesses and free actions in a legend about the beginnings of the city. It would be more important if this suggestion were confirmed by archaeological discoveries. The development of the fortress, as it is described by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, should have left some material remains".[67] Katičić had the strong conviction that some element of the legend corresponded to historical events, yet his belief cannot be confirmed by archaeological findings.[68] Not only do excavations not validate the narration of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, but they also prove that in the area of today's Dubrovnik, settlement was already developing in the late antiquity,[69] long before the Slavs arrived in these lands.

The traces of the legend of a gradual expansion of the city also seem to be preserved in *Regnum Sclavorum*. In the story of Pavlimir's arrival to the Dalmatian coast, the Romans erected a fortress (*castellum*) just after reaching the shore, "ad portum qui Gravosa dicitur et Umbla" (to the port called Gravosa and Umbla).[70] Only after spreading the news about this event did the inhabitants of Epidaurus – who until then "per silvas et monatanas menebant" (stayed in forests and mountains) – came to join them and founded the city (*urbs*).[71]

ςυνζ'. Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ κάστρῳ κεῖται ὁ ἅγιος Παγκράτιος ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου, τῷ ὄντι μέσον τοῦ αὐτοῦ κάστρου".

67 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 134.

68 Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.* vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1980), p. 17; Josip Lučić, *Povijest Dubrovnika od VII stoljeća do godine 1205.* (Zagreb, 1973), pp. 10–20.

69 Ivica Žile, "Naselje prije grada," *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997), pp. 97–119; Vedrana Jović Gazić, "Razvoj grada od kasne antike prema srednjem vijeku: Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar – stanje istraženosti (Urban Development from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar – the State of Research)," Archaeologia Adriatica 5 (2012), no. 1, pp. 151–196; Tibor Živković, "On the foundation of Ragusa: The Tradition vs. Facts," *Historical Review* 54 (2007), p. 11 [reprint: [in:] idem, *Forging Unity*, pp. 176–177].

70 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

71 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

Katičić noticed (and Živković repeated after him, later) the distinction between *castellum* and *urbs/civitas*. It was also present in the poem by Miletius and then appeared in all early Latin sources discussing this event. Katičić suggested that it was possible that it could get lost in the translation made by Porphyrogennetos, who – assuming that he used a text unknown to us – could replace both words with the Greek word "κάστρον" (kastron) to describe a city or a fortress that was gradually expanding as its walls widened. On the example of Michael Choniates' work, Angeliki Papageorgiou showed that the word "καστρηνοὶ" ("kastrenoi") could be used to describe the citizens of the city, living within the walls, and it did not necessarily have to have military overtones.[72] According to Katičić, it was then possible that Prophyrogennetos could replace two Latin words, castellum and urbs (or civitas), known from other accounts about the origins of Ragusa, with one Greek term "κάστρον".[73]

In the account of *De administrando imperio*, the second part of the story, about the visitors from Salona, seems equally interesting. The emperor was familiar with the names of their leaders, and he also knew exactly when the event took place. The date given by him, 6457 years after the creation of the world, corresponds with 949 AD. It was indeed the year of the seventh indiction. Thus, the inhabitants of Salona would have come to Ragusa in 449, which makes us consider the credibility of Constantine's record.

Scholars continue to argue about the value of this account: rich in details, yet awkward in this place. They have attempted to explain the doubtful date as an error in the record. The Greek letter Tau (τ), meaning three hundred, might be replaced by the letter Phi (φ), meaning five hundred. As Katičić noticed, it is only wishful thinking to believe that this *crux interpretum* can be solved.[74]

It was believed that the very title of protospatharios, which appeared in the text, is anachronistic.[75] Katičić had a different opinion and assumed that both names and titles correspond to those who "could be expected in this place".[76] He presumed that, in the case of this information, Porphyrogennetos had to use an older list, rather than the source from which he took the information

---

72 Angeliki Papageorgiou, "To Ypomnistikón tou Michail Choniáti kai oi 'Kastrenoí'" ["Το Υπομνηστικόν του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη και οι Καστρηνοί"], *Bizantina Sýmmeikta* [*Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*]18 (2009), pp. 159–169.

73 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 145–148; Živković, "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello," p. 214.

74 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 133.

75 See the chronology set out by Rodolphe Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin. Les titres auliques des eunuques. Le protosphataire," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–1957), pp. 649–695.

76 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 133.

about the sacking of Epidaurus.[77] This opinion was repeated not long ago by Lovro Kunčević, who suggested that the memory of settlers from Salona in late antiquity could have reached Porphyrogennetos in the form of a list of names and dates, which – although it may seem incredible at first glance – as it turns out, is consistent with the findings of archaeologists.[78]

Katičić also focused on the verses explaining the etymology of the city's name. Porphyrogennetos wrote: "That the city of Rausium in the language of the Romans is not called Rausium, but because it is situated on a steep coast and that a steep coast in the language of Romans is called Lau, hence they are called *Lausaioi* (Λαυσαῖοι): 'those who sit on a steep coast' as one could say. However, the general habit, often spoiling names by changing letters, led to transformation of this name and now they are called *Rausaioi*". This explanation is given in quite an unexpected manner, and the very beginning of the sentence – "ὅτι", i.e. "that" – led Katičić to suggest that it was an attempt to supplement the hypothetical original text which, according to him, could start with "we have learned that", or "you need to know that".[79]

It is also interesting to compare the explanations given by Porphyrogennetos with those of the Priest of Duklja. The latter described how the inhabitants of Epidaurus together with the Romans had built the city "supra Mare in ripis marinis, quas Epidaurii lingua sua 'laus' dicunt. Unde ea civitas 'Lausium' vocata est, quae postea r pro l posita, Ragusium appelata est" (by the sea and the sea coast, which the inhabitants of Epidaurus called 'laus' in their language. Thus the city was named Lausium, which after the change of 'l' into 'r' received the name Ragusa).[80] It is not difficult to notice that *Regnum Sclavorum* and *De administando imperio* offered an almost identical explanation of the genesis of the city's name. Suggestions of a later distortion of the toponym is not the only similarity. Porphyrogennetos also wrote about steep banks and – regardless of whether he meant a Latin word (for example *labes*[81]) or the Greek word Λαυς[82] – the Latin text of the Priest of Duklja seems to replace it with the word "ripa" meaning a steep bank or a cliff which, as the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* adds: "Epidaurii lingua sua 'laus' dicunt" (the inhabitants of Epidaurus called

77 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 133.

78 Lovro Kunčević, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa: The Epidaurian Tradition," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 10 (2004), pp. 21–31.

79 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 132–133.

80 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

81 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 134–136.

82 Živković, "Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors," p. 149.

'laus' in their language).[83] The striking similarity of both texts would therefore be in favour of Katičić's hypothesis, who suggested that both Porphyrogennetos and the Priest of Duklja had used an older record, unknown to us. Šišić noted this similarity even before Katičić did, and claimed that in the fragment concerning the etymology of Ragusa, the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* had used "an old record originating from Dubrovnik".[84]

It is all the more strange that Šišić did not use a similar explanation when discussing the third text, presenting the beginnings of the city in a very similar way – namely, the preserved fragment of the poem by Miletius (in Croatian: Milecije) written in hexameter and partially preserved in the work by Nicola Ragnina (in Croatian: Nikša Ranjina), a Ragusa-based sixteenth-century writer, and two other slightly different versions.

Deducing from the sentence mentioning tsar Stefan Dušan as a living ruler in 1333, it is usually assumed that the poem by Miletius was written in the first half of the fourteenth century,[85] although for example Natko Nodilo – who published the work of Ragnina – speculated that some fragments might even have been written in the twelfth century.[86] The following verses depict the foundation of Ragusa according to the poet:

> Urbi Epidauro nomen donavit et esse
> Temporibus Moyssis fugiens Epidaurus Aegypto
> Quam signis visis perituram noverat urbem …
> Quidam Romani destructa sic Epidauro
> Bellum civile fugientes forte subintrant
> Portum dalmatiae qui Gravosius vocatur.
> Hic pariter inopes fugientes ex Epidauro
> In magnis ripis, ubi nunc est urbs Rhagusana
> Castellum statuunt monitis actuque Joannis
> Qui jam fuit praedictae archiepiscopus urbis.
> Atque arcem vivi tutam munimine saxi

---

83 The mysterious name "Epidaurii lingua" may refer to the local dialect of Latin used in Dubrovnik and known as *lingua ragusea*. In the fourteenth century it began to be replaced by the language of the Slavs, though it survived until the fifteenth century. On the situation of the Ragusan language: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 34.

84 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 146.

85 Živković, "The Earliest Cults of Saints in Ragusa," p. 150; "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 139.

86 Natko Nodilo, "Prvi ljetopisci i davna historiografia dubrovačka," *Radovi JAZU* 65 (1883), p. 121. 8; Vinko Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808.*, p. 11, considered Miletius as the eleventh-century author.

Aspectuque horrendo, praecelso in vertice montis
Hoc castrum vocitat Epidaurica lingua *Labusa*;
Namque ripa sonat hoc idiomate *Labus*.
A magnis ripis nomen traxere priores;
Nunc L in R, G pro B mutando moderni,
Rhagusam dicunt, quae Sclavonice Dubrovnik
Dicitur a Sylva, quia sylva fuit locus ille,
In quo nunc urbs est, et *Dubrava* sylva vocatur.
Ad decus et laudem Stephani Protomartyris extat
Castellum, et templum fundant, et corpora condunt
Sanctorum, quorum sunt nomina scripta, subaudi:
Nerei, Achillei, Domitillae, Petronillaeque,
Quae secum [furtim] tulerant Roma fugientes

(The city of Epidaurus was named
By Epidaurus who escaped from Egypt in the days of Moses
Recognizing the visible signs that the city would fall [...]
One day some Romans, fleeing from the civil war
To the already destroyed Epidaurus,
Came to the Dalmatian port known as Gravosius.
Together with the unhappy refugees from Epidaurus,
On the high bank, where today the city of Ragusa is situated,
They erect a castle at the instigation and cause of Johannes,
Who was the archbishop of the city at that time.
And so it stands, a safe haven protected by the rock
Looking terrible, towering on top of the hill.
This fortress is called *Labusa* in Epidauric language,
The word *Labus* means "a bank" in this language
And from the great bank (cliff) the ancestors passed it [to the fortress],
And now, the contemporaries, after changing L to R, and B to G,
Call it Ragusa, or Dubrovnik in the Slavic language,
After the forest, because there used to be a forest
Where the city is today and their [Slavic] word for forest is *Dubrava*.
The fortress stands to the glory and honour of Stephen the Protomartyr,
They founded the temple, and took the bodies
Of the saints, whose written names sound like:
Nereus, Achilles, Domitilla and Petronilla,
Whom the Roman refugees [furtively] brought with themselves)[87]

87 Ante Konstantin Matas, *Miletii versus*, Biblioteca storica della Dalmazia 1 (Dubrovnik, 1882), pp. 9–12; *Nicolai de Ragnina*, p. 174. The critical reedition in: idem, *Povijest*

Among the other discussed texts, the fragment of the poem by Miletius is distinguished by the story of Epidaurus, a refugee from Egypt, and a contemporary of Moses. Both figures – the prophet and the legendary eponym – are also mentioned in the context of the founding of the city in the second half of the fourteenth century by Johannes Conversini, the author of *Historia Ragusii*, who wrote: "Epidaurum dicunt ab Epidauro qui Moisi temporibus Egyptum signi perituram intelligens fugit hisque adhesit scopulis, nunc deserta"[88] (Epidaurum is named after Epidaurus, who fled from Egypt in the days of Moses, recognizing the signs of a fall, and he came on this rock, now abandoned), probably repeating a fragment of a local tradition (or even echoing the poem quoted above).

It is even more puzzling that Miletius, in addition to information on the change of letters, gives an explanation of the Slavic name of the city. The Priest of Duklja also had similar knowledge, and after mentioning how the name of Ragusa was created, he added that the city: "(…) Sclavi vero Dubrovnich appellaverunt, id est 'silvester' sive 'silvestris', quoniam, quando eam aedificaverunt, de silva venerunt"[89] (The Slavs called it Dubrovnik, which means 'a forest' or 'located in a forest', because when it was built, they came from the forest). Despite the close similarity of both texts, there are no sentences with the same wording, which would be expected in the case of direct influence. However, the problem of interdependence between the poem by Miletius and *Regnum Sclavorum* is much more difficult to resolve, because we must take into account the specifics of the poetic text in which the words are subordinated to specific rules of the versification. The fragment of the work edited by Porphyrogennetos – written in Greek, and (if based on a Dalmatian source) probably paraphrased or translated – cannot be helpful in tracing the filiation of the text. However, the construction of the poetic tale of the founding does not support the hypothesis of a direct link between the poem by Miletius and the corresponding paragraph of *Regnum Sclavorum*. The motif of refugees is present in it, but King Bello – the central figure in the Priest of Duklja's narrative – is absent, although it is possible that the phrase "*Bellum civile*" (civil war) in some careless reading could become the basis for the king's nickname.

Miletius, like Porphyrogennetos, but unlike the Priest of Duklja, knew about the cult of St. Stefan in Ragusa, and he also knew the importance of transferring the relics of St. Nereus, Achilles, Domitilia and Petronilla; this event

Dubrovnika do 13. stoleća, eds. Nedjeljko Marinov, Mate Matas, Duje Šilović (Zagreb, 2016), pp. 7–21.

88 Quoted after: Relja Seferović, "Razočarani notar: iz kasnog dubrovačkog prijepisa djela "Historia Ragusii" Giovannija Conversinija," *Anali Dubrovnik* 55/1 (2017), p. 150, note 99.

89 *Ljetopis*, pp. 70–71.

had to be an important element of the local tradition. In the later *Annales Ragusini*, this *translatio* was connected with King Bello (in this text: Radoslav Bello), but the copies of *Regnum Sclavorum* available to us do not mention any relics.

The example of Archbishop Johannes, known to Miletius, shows that the manuscripts of *Regnum Sclavorum* preserved today are late and, as a result, unsuitable for analysis. Tuberon, as was already mentioned, probably had some copy of this work. As he wrote: "Quae quidem scripta, licet essent uetustissima specie, quum ad manus meas peruenere, non tamen adeo multorum annorum tabe corrupta erant, ut legi non possent"[90] (Although these scripts, very old in appearance when they fell into my hands, nevertheless after so many years they were not rotten to such a degree that they could not be deciphered). Tuberon managed to read the text partially so he noticed the name of Bishop Johannes. In a smaller work devoted to the history of Ragusa, Tuberon emphasized the role of this bishop, or, actually, two bishops of this name, one of whom welcomed the arriving King Bello (here: Polimirus), while the other moved his centre from Epidaurus to a new residence.[91] In the work *Comentarii de temporibus suiis* Tuberon unambiguously revealed the source of his information about this issue when wrote: "Et ne quid nouae ciuitati deesset, pontificem Epidaurium, quem Docleatis authoris annales Ioannem nominant, amissa priori sede, Burni agentem praesulem Rhacusanum, Romano pontifice annuente, designat, atque a ditione Salonitani antistitis eximi curat, licet eodem fere tempore Salonae quoque ab Vcris euersae sint"[92] (And for he [Polimir] did not want the new city to lack anything, with the consent of the pope Bishop of Epidaurus was made Bishop of Ragusa; in the annals of the historian Docleata he was called Johannes, and after losing his former seat he resided in Burnum. He [Polimir] also took care to exclude him from dependence of the Archbishop of Salona, especially as Salona was destroyed by the Ugrs [Avars]). If Tuberon had not made a mistake in referring to the text as his source of information about Johannes, and if he had not found it in the local annals or in the poem by Miletius, we must assume that the Priest of Duklja's account known to us may differ from other older copies of the text which have not survived.

90 *Lvdovici Tvberonis Commentarii*, p. 87.

91 The first of them was described as John of Tribunja: Vladimir Rezar, "'De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae' Ludovika Crijevića Tuberona (kritičko izdanje, prijevod i komentar)," *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 51 (2013), pp. 98, 102.

92 *Lvdovici Tvberonis Commentarii*, p. 90; Katičić used an older edition: *Comentariolus Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis de origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae*, Rhacusii 1790 – the scholar's comment: Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 142.

An interesting although rather bold interpretation of similarities in the described accounts was proposed by Katičić; as has already been mentioned, he tried to reconstruct the hypothetical record – the source of later accounts of the origins of the city. In fact, Katičić himself treated the results of his investigations cautiously, considering the proposed reconstruction as "abstract" and comparing it to a police identikit. He also emphasized that his aim was only to highlight similarities between the texts, and to create a "structural framework" useful for a critical approach to the sources.[93] The hypothetical text would correspond to the local Ragusian tradition. It could be a passage in some lost Latin catalogue of bishops or in a pontifical book that has not been preserved to our time. Porphyrogennetos could have obtained it through some Byzantine officials. This enigmatic text had supposedly survived at least two centuries before Miletius had read it and (or) before it was found by the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum*. According to Katičić, this note can be (re)constructed as follows:

> Joannes, Primus archiepiscopus Ra(g)usitanus
> /in Ragusio. Hic fuit archiepiscopus
> Pitauritanus. Hac civitate capta et destructa
> (a Slavis) eius [monitis actuque] homines
> qui fugientis et montana manebant et quidam
> Romani, qui (eo tempore) urbe/civitate
> depulsi Dalmatiam venerant, in portum qui
> Gravosa dicitur, aedificaverunt castellum
> et habitaverunt ibi/ in eo, ubi nunc est civitas
> in ripis, quas Pitauritani lingui sua laus
> dicunt, unde Lausium, postea r pro l posita
> Ra(g)usium appellata est. In eadem civitate
> iacet beatius Pancratius (etc.) in eccleasia
> beati Stephani (Protomartyris) (qua est)
> in medio eodem castello.
>
> (Joannes, the First Archbishop of Ragusa /
> In Ragusa. He was Archbishop of
> Pitaura. This city was conquered and destroyed
> (by the Slavs). Its inhabitants [who survived],
> fled and stayed in the mountains, and some
> Romans, who (at that time) left the city

93 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 157.

> and arrived in Dalmatia, to the port
> called Gravosa, built a fortress
> and moved there / in it, where now is the city
> on the shore, which the Pitauritans call laus
> in their language, hence Lausium, then changing l to r,
> it is called Ragusa. In this city
> the blessed Pancratius (etc.) lies in the church
> of St. Stephen the Protomartyr (which is)
> in the middle of this fortress)[94]

Reading this text, we can see even more clearly the similarity between the three records discussed above. We can distinguish in it all the main themes of the Priest of Duklja's story, apart from the royal one: the sacking of the city, the escape of the inhabitants of Epidaurus, and the appearance of strange newcomers who reach the place of the future location of Ragusa. In addition, the details devoted to the holy relics in the city and the name of the first Bishop of Ragusa seem to be important elements. According to Katičić, both Porphyrogennetos and the Priest of Duklja could have attempted to hide the bishop's name. However, if we look at the second part of the narrative of Porphyrogennetos, in which he refers to the newcomers from Salona, the existence of a record in this form is doubtful. Katičić interpreted it as a trace of another missing source of the emperor; this point of view was shared by Žvivković, who believed that Porphyrogennetos relied on two traditions: those of Ragusa and of Salona.[95] When we analyse the very structure of the story, we notice that in the imperial narrative, the refugees from Salona take the role attributed to the Romans in the two more recent texts. Both groups – the newcomers from Salona and the Romans – were an alien element, and they arrived to build a city together with the inhabitants of Epidaurus.

The inclusion of Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative in the sphere of influence of this hypothetical source seems to be Katičić's most controversial idea. *Historia Salonitana* differs significantly from the three other texts. Although the motifs of Epidaurus and Romans appeared in it, the way they are implemented is completely different. Moreover, Thomas the Archdeacon's narrative lacks any characteristic *nomina priopria*, which would primarily suggest a common source for the stories by Porphyrogennetos, Miletius and the Priest of Duklja.

94 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," p. 157, following the analysis of particular verses which were to be included in the record: pp. 154–157.

95 Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," p. 10 [*Forging Unity*: pp. 175–176].

It is worth noting that *Historia Salonitana*, written in the middle of the thirteenth century, contained two stories related to Epidaurus, which later became Ragusa. In the initial fragment of the chronicle, in which Thomas described Dalmatia, we can read about "Epitaurus, que est iuxta Ragusium" (Epitaurus, which is close to Ragusa). The city was known in the text as the fortress of Cadmus, the mythical founder of Thebes, who reputedly transformed into a serpent in the place where the city of Epidaurus was to be founded.[96] This legend is probably based on an older tradition from ancient times, as Grga Novak believed.[97]

In a later part of the chronicle, Thomas the Archdeacon told a more detailed story about the transformation of Epidaurus into Ragusa:

> Per idem fere tempus quidam advene, ut ferunt, Romana urbe depulsi, non longe ab Epitauro ratibus applicuerunt. Erat autem Epitauros episcopalis civitas, Salonitane ecclesie suffraganea. Quod ex epistola beati Gregorii pape conicimus, quam misit Natali archiepiscopo Salonitano, arguens ipsum, quia absque auctoritate synodali quendam Florentium Epitauritane ecclesie episcopum pro quibusdam iniectis criminibus, sed non probatis, deposuerat. Cuius causam comisit predictus papa suo subdiacono Antonio, quem in Salonam fuisse missum superius memoravimus. Prenotati ergo advene sedem sibi in illis partibus collocantes civitatem Epitaurum sepius impugnantes nimium atriverunt, atritamque ceperunt et captam in solitudinem redegerunt. Homines autem cum eis permixti sunt et facti sunt populus unus. Edificaverunt Ragusianum et habitaverunt in eo. Ex eo tempore conari ceperunt pallium suo episcopo optinere.[98]
>
> (It was at about this time some strangers – driven from the city of Rome, as they say – landed in their boats not far from Epidaurus. Epidaurus was an episcopal city, a suffragan of the church of Salona, as we infer from a letter from Pope Gregory to Natalis, the Archbishop of Salona; for in the letter Gregory accuses Natalis of having deposed Florentius, the Bishop of Epidaurus, without synodal authority, for certain crimes that had been alleged against him but not proven; the pope entrusted the case to his subdeacon Antony, whom he had sent to Salona, as we have recounted

96 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 6–7.

97 Grga Novak, "Questiones epidauritanae," *Rad JAZU* 339 (1965), p. 116; Kunčević shares this opinion, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa," pp. 28–29.

98 *Historia Salonitana*, p. 46.

> earlier. The aforementioned foreigners established themselves in that region and wore down the city of Epidaurus greatly by repeated attacks. When it had been worn down they took it, and after taking it they laid waste to it utterly. However, the newcomers intermixed with the populace, and became one people. They built Ragusa and settled there. From that time they sought to obtain the *pallium* for their own bishop).

Contrary to what was claimed by Katičić, the different construction of this fragment of Thomas' chronicle cannot be explained solely by the chronicler's intention to demonstrate the old dependence of Epidaurus on the metropolis of Split.[99] Even if Thomas indeed got into a debate here with some unknown adversary, as Katičić claimed, and half of his accounts should be treated as a comment clearly subordinated to political goals, it is difficult to confirm this hypothesis without knowing the exact course of this debate which Thomas might be answering here.[100] The fragment of *Historia Salonitana* should rather be regarded as a separate realization of two motifs repeated on the occasion of the story of the foundation of Ragusa. According to Thomas – a different stance than that in the oldest account by Porphyrogennetos, and also different to *Regnum Sclavorum* – the destruction of Epidaurus was carried out by the Romans themselves. They also participated in the construction of Ragusa. Thomas tried to strengthen the position of the Archbishop of Split by mentioning the letter of Pope Gregory,[101] thus weakening the position of Ragusa as the alleged heir of the ancient rights of Epidaurus.

The perception of Ragusa in the context of the legacy of the ancient city of Epidaurus was probably the oldest element of the narrative about the birth of the city.[102] Traces of it can be found in the work of the so-called Cosmographer of Ravenna, writing anonymously at the turn of the seventh century, who stated: "Epidaurum id est Ragusium" (Epidaurum, that is Ragusa).[103] This

---

99 Matijević Sokol drew attention to the opening of the story: "Per idem fere tempus quidam advene, ut ferunt, Romana urbe depulsi … Edificaverunt Ragusianum et habitaverunt in eo" and compared it with the following lines of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*: "per idem tempus…. construxerunt castellum et habitaverunt ibi" (*Ljetopis*, p. 70): *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, p. 244.

100 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 143–144.

101 Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 143–144.

102 Kunčević, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa," pp. 21–24.

103 Quoted after: Ferdo Šišić, *O hrvatskoj kraljici Margareti* (Dubrovnik 1930), p. 5. Also: Slobodan Čače, "'Kozmografija' Anonima Ravenjanina i počeci Dubrovnika, Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost," 4 (1997), pp. 84–97; source edition: *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Moritz Pinder, Gustav Parthey (Berlin, 1860), 208.10.

connection between the two cities was known to all the oldest authors writing about the origins of Ragusa: Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum*, Miletius, Johannes Conversini and Thomas the Archdeacon, as well as the author of *Annales Ragusini*.

Ragusa took on the legacy of the ancient city of Epidaurus in the tenth (or even eleventh) century, possibly as a result of the key events that occurred during the synods in Split in 925 and 928. The main task of these conventions was to establish a church hierarchy in Dalmatia and Croatia, including the arrangement of diocesan borders.[104] Borders that had existed in Roman times were often the point of reference for the synodal decision-makers. Referring to an ancient legacy was very important in forming ecclesiastical hierarchy, as is shown in the example of the episcopate in Nin, which – probably due to the lack of ancient legacy and related prestige – eventually had to accept the authority of the archbishopric in Split, recognized as the heir of the ancient archdiocese in Salona.

During these synods the delegates of Ragusa could realize the significance of such symbolic connections and develop a coherent ideology in which the identity of Epidaurus and Ragusa were emphasized. The legend as such was not new, as is shown in the already-quoted verse from the Cosmographer of Ravenna. It was also known in Rome, where Pope Zachary in a letter of 743 named Andrew, Bishop of Ragusa "archiepiscopo sancta Pitauritana ecclesie" (Archbishop of the Holy Diocese of Pitaura).[105] It seems, however, that the perception of the bishopric in Ragusa as the heir of ancient traditions was not particularly popular in Dalmatia. This is evidenced by the preserved files of the abovementioned synods in which the name "Epidaurus" is never used in the context of Ragusa and its bishops.[106] The synod records contain traces of a dispute over the property of the former diocese of Epidaurus between Ragusa and Kotor. The eighth article of the provisions of the first synod requires that each of the pretending dioceses should be given half of the territory in question.[107] Perhaps soon after the synods in Split, members of the Ragusa-based elite made a decision about the conscious use of tradition emphasizing the ancient rights

104 *Documenta*, no. 149, 150, pp. 187–197.

105 *Codex diplomaticus* vol. 1, ed. Marko Kostrenčić (Zagreb, 1967), no. 1, pp. 1–3.

106 Kunčević, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa," p. 25.

107 Ivica Puljić, "Uspostava duborvačke metroplije," in *Tisuću godina dubrovačke (nad)biskupije. Zbornik radova u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije (998–1998)*, ed. Nediljko Ante Ančić (Dubrovnik, 2001), p. 18; See: Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," p. 12. His opinion about the subsequent formation of that tradition refers to the works of the anonymous author from Ragusa, Nicola Ragnina, Ludovico Tuberon and Junije (Giunio) Resti, also: Živković, "Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors," pp. 151–160.

and legacy of the city. The rivalry between Kotor and Ragusa for the legacy of Epidaurus ended only with the establishment of the archbishopric in Ragusa during the expansion of Tsar Samuel around 998. In the papal bull issued in 1022 Benedict VIII again addressed the Archbishop of Ragusa: "Uitali, archiepiscopo sancte Pitabritane sedis a ciuitate Labusedi" (Vitali, Archbishop of the holy throne of Pitabra in the city of Labusa),[108] which proves that Ragusa's aspirations were recognized, fixed and accepted by Rome.[109] This interpretation is confirmed by another papal letter, in which Gregory VII refers to Peter, Archbishop of Ragusa, as "archiepiscopo sancte Pitauritane sedis".[110]

At the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance, the legend of Epidaurus was, it seems, well known, and was an important element of local historiography. Although Epidaurus is mentioned in *Annales Ragusini*, this topic is pushed to the background,[111] but it is important for Tuberon or Ragnina, whose ideas about the birth of the city were probably shaped additionally by *De administando impierio* and *Regnum Sclavorum*,[112] as well as the conscious policy of the authorities of the Dubrovnik Republic. From the end of the Middle Ages the context of spreading the legend of Epidaurus changed. As Zdenka Janeković observed: "(…) Dubrovnik chronicles from the fifteenth century, and also official documents, wholeheartedly accepted such claims [regarding the legendary origins of Ragusa], adding to them some mythological details. Enriched in this way, the story [of the origins] became a beneficial tool of political propaganda. It was the period of formation of the Dubrovnik community, relatively independent, despite its formal subordination to the Hungarian king".[113] The identification of Ragusa and Epidaurus was already so strong that even before 1440 Philip de Diversis, who came from Italy, had no problem in learning about this connection. He recalled: "Sed ad rem iam veniamus et dicamus, quod cum urbs Ragusina, quae Epidaurum seu Lavusium antiquitus dicebatur …" (However, let us get to the point and explain that because the city of Ragusa, which in ancient times was called Epidaurum or Lausium …).[114] Georgius Sizgoreus, the historian from Šibenik, wrote that Ragusa lies in the place of the ancient city of Lagusium, the colony of Epidaurus ("Ragusium imprimis, ut ab ortu incipiam, quod, ut legi, antiquitus Lagusium docebatur,

108 *Codex diplomaticus* vol. 1, no. 44, pp. 41–42.
109 Kunčević, "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa," p. 26.
110 *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. 1, no. 112, pp. 143–145.
111 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 7.
112 Živković, "Constantine Poprhyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors," p. 149.
113 Zdenka Janeković, "Stjecanje Konavla. Antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije," in *Konavle u prošlosti sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Cavtatu od 25. do 27. studenog 1996. godine*, vol. 1, ed. Vladimir Stipetić (Dubrovnik, 1998), p. 35.
114 Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika*, ed. Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Zagreb, 2004), p. 139.

colonia Epidauria …").[115] Also, Felix Fabri, a Swiss Dominican who travelled the Adriatic coast in the 1480s, knew about this identification,[116] and Palladius Fuscus, the Italian humanist, questioned it.[117] Architectural concepts in the Republic also have a prominent place in the plan of marking the space in reference to the legend of Epidaurus.[118] The Renaissance interest in this narrative resulted in elaborating the story of the ancient city of Epidaurus, "aging the birth certificate" of Ragusa, and inventing the figure of Epidaurus – its legendary eponym. As we know, both Miletius and Conversini were familiar with this character, propagated later by Ragnina, and then by Luccari.[119] Beginning in the fifteenth century, attempts were even made to appropriate the tradition of the Greek city of Epidauros in Argolis, by presenting Dubrovnik as the birthplace of the god Aesculapius.[120] In the sixteenth century, when the work of Porphyrogennetos became popular, references to the Salona-related roots of the city began to appear in the local historiography.[121] Renaissance historians, unlike medieval chroniclers, disregarded the role of the bishop in the events that led to the foundation of the new settlement.[122] They were interested in the ancient Roman legacy of the city, rather than in the legacy of the ancient diocese. According to Lovro Kunčević, the works of Aelius Lampridus Cervinus (Ilija Crijević) constituted the last stage of transforming the myth of Epidaurus in fifteenth-century Dubrovnik. Cervinus, a poet and orator, was an ideological exponent of the aspirations of local patriciate. He authored, among other things, a song titled *De Epidauro*, probably unfinished. Kunčević remarked that "later historians, busy with other questions, basically repeated Cervinus' interpretations. It became a habit to emphasize that Epidaurus was a Roman colony, and this fact explained the fortitude of the patricians and love of freedom, typical of the inhabitants of Dubrovnik".[123]

115 Juraj Šižgorić, *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*, ed. Slavo Grubišić (Šibenik, 1981), p. 28.

116 After: Stjepan Krasić, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/1484 godine," *Anali Dubrovnik* 39 (2001), p. 162, 185. See: See; Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 39–42.

117 "Ergo corrigendus est error in hoc loco multorum, qui Ragusium nunc vocari tradunt, quod antea Epidaurum, quum inter hoc et illud intersint stadia, ut dictum est, Quadraginta" (At this point, we can correct the error made by many who use "Ragusa" to refer to the place that was Epidaurum in the past; in fact, as has been mentioned, there is a distance of forty stades between them). *De situ orae illyrici Palladii Fuscii*, ed. Bruna Kuntić-Makvić (Zagreb, 1990), pp. 104–107. Vide: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 39, note 56–57.

118 Nada Grujić, *Ladanjska arhitektura dubrovačkog područja* (Zagreb, 1991), p. 173.

119 *Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 173–179. See: Seferović, *Razočarani notar*, p. 150, note 99.

120 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 41–44.

121 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 50, note 93.

122 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 36.

123 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 49.

Regarding the threads linked with the foundation of Ragusa, the motif of the arrival of the Romans appeared a bit later than the one related to the city of Epidaurus. It seems that it was unknown to Porphyrogennetos. Although the emperor had reasons to conceal this Roman episode, it is much more likely that at this time the founding legend of Ragusa was still taking shape, and there was as yet no trace of Romans in it. Therefore, the story of the newcomers from Salona should be seen as an equivalent of the motif of the Romans in the classical structure of the legend about the beginnings of the community. Originally, the legend could have been based on the double founding of the city, which became Ragusa only after a fusion of the two societies representing different cultural patterns.

It could have been the desire to raise the profile of the city that decided the appointment of the Romans as one of these groups. Examples from all over Europe show numerous attempts to refer to the Roman heritage through stories about the ancient founders of castles and monasteries. *Lux Romana* – illuminating an object brought into prominence by such a measure – would quickly become an element of local history, and references to legends about founders would appear in literary texts and would be used as an element of promotion as well as an argument in political struggle.[124]

Dating the origin of cities or communities back to Roman times was a universal practice in medieval historiography. The figure of Julius Caesar, who was considered to be the founder of many centres in various parts of Europe, was particularly popular.[125] Implementation of this specific variety of legend about the Romans as well as backgrounds of their creation did differ in particular cases. The common denominator of these legends was the need to prove an ancient ennobling genesis of the cities, communities or dynasties, and, above all, demonstrate a historical continuity (preferably associated with the person of a great leader) dating back to Roman times. Tales about Caesar were widespread in western Europe. Geoffrey of Monmouth, referring to the rich British tradition, reported on the founding of cities by the Romans under the leadership of Caesar.[126] In Germany, motifs of wars between the Germanic tribes and

124 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 60–67. In reference to Italian cities: pp. 77–80.

125 Although *Regnum Sclavorum* does not mention Julius Caesar, the attempts to link the Dubrovnik patriciate with the great ancient leader (by means of the legend of king Pavlimir and the Romans who accompanied him) were made since the sixteenth century; the works of Didacus Pyrrhus (Didak Pir) is one example of such attempts: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 58.

126 It is interesting in the context of the hypothesis promoted by Živković, who claimed that the Priest of Duklja had known the work of Geoffrey of Monmouth. The review of British traditions demonstrates that the tradition of Romans was very popular not only in the

Julius Caesar and their later alliance were known since the eleventh century. *Annolied* – rhyming couplets composed around 1100 – listed numerous privileges given to the German peoples by the grateful Caesar for their merits, while *Kaiserchronik* from the middle of the twelfth century developed these themes, emphasizing the identification of German and Roman emperors.[127] It was claimed that many cities in Germany were founded by Caesar (among them such large centres as Mainz, Worms, Merseburg and Magdeburg).[128]

The etiologies related to the subject of the Romans were popular until the end of the Middle Ages, becoming a part of the *origo gentis*[129] and they outshone local German national stories.[130] Stories using the topos of newcomers from an ancient empire were also known in more peripheral areas, for example Pomerania on the southern shore of the Baltic Sea. Helmold of Bosau, a Saxon historian from the twelfth century, reported that the city of Wolgast/Wołogoszcz was named after Julia Augusta, the founder's sister.[131] *The Life of Otto of Bamberg* by Ebo, active in the same century, contained a legend about the founding of the city of Wolin (*Julin*) by Caesar.[132] This foundation legend was repeated, among others, by *Chronica Poloniae maioris*[133] in the thirteenth century, and by Angelus de Stargardia in the fourteenth century.[134] In the chronicle of Wincenty Kadłubek from the turn of the twelfth century we can

British Isles but in the West in general. See: Homer Nearing Jr., "Local Caesar Traditions in Britain," *Speculum* 2 (1949), no. 24, pp. 218–227.

127 See: Paul Hess, *Li Roumanz de Julius César. Ein Beitrag zur Cäsargeschichte im Mittelalter* (Winterthur, 1956); Heinz Thomas, "Julius Caesar und die Deutschen. Zu Ursprung und Gehalt eines deutschen Geshihtsbewußtseins in der Zeit Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV.," in *Die Salier und das Reich: Gesellschaftlicher und ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, v. 3, eds. Stefan Weinfurter, Hubertus Seibert (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp. 245–277; Dieter Mertens, "Caesar, Arminius und die Deutschen. Meistererzählungen und Aitiologien," in *Antike im Mittelalter. Fortleben, Nachwirken, Wahrnehmung*, eds. Sebastian Brather, Hans U. Nuber, Heiko Steuer, Thomas Zotz (Ostfildern, 2014), pp. 383–442; Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis 1245–1414* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 309–315; Alexander Rubel, "Caesar und Karl der Große in der Kaiserchronik. Typologischestruktur und die 'transaltio imperii ad Francos'," *Antike und Abendland* 47 (2001), pp. 146–163.

128 Mertens, "Caesar, Arminius und die Deutschen," pp. 401–403; Tim Reuter, "Past, Present and No Future in the Twelfth Century 'Regnum Teutonicum'," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London/Rio Grande, 1992), p. 30.

129 Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity*, pp. 315–316.

130 Alheydis Plassmann, *Origo gentis. Identitäts und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh- und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen* (Berlin, 2006), p. 30.

131 *Helmoldi presbyteri chronica Slavorum*, book 1, chapter 38, p. 40.

132 *Ebbonis vita Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis*, book 3, chapter 1, MPH vol. 2, ed. August Bielowski (Lviv, 1872), p. 49.

133 *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, pp. 10–11.

134 *Protokół. Kamieńska kronika*, pp. 44–45, note 186.

find information about three battles in which King Lestek III defeated Caesar. As a result, the ruler of Rome decided to arrange a marriage between his sister, Julia, and King Lestek. She allegedly founded two cities in Poland: Julius (Lubusz), named after her brother, and Julia, reputedly the original name of Lublin.[135] Similar legends about founding cities were also known in the fourteenth century in Silesia.[136] In the same century, a legend about the Roman origin of Lithuanians began to take shape.[137]

Perhaps the trace of the stages of development of a similar "Roman" story was a sharp contradiction in Thomas the Archdeacon's text, in which the Romans built Ragusa, and at another time they sacked it – the contamination of the invaders and the invaded, quite common in the morphology of this type of stories. As in the case of the motif connected with Epidaurus, a Roman story was also known in the historiography of the Ragusa area in the late Middle Ages as well as in the modern era.[138]

Živković sought the sources of the legend about the Roman refugees in *Chronicon Salernitanum* (Salerno Chronicle) written around 974, but based on information from the end of the preceding century.[139] This work tells the story of the birth of the city of Amalfi, which can explain the origin of the motif of the Roman newcomers. According to the chronicle, at the time when Constantine the Great moved the capital of the empire to the Bosphorus area and embarked across the sea on a journey with the court, his fleet was caught

135 *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronicon Polonorum. Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika polska*, book 1, chapter 17, MPH series nova vol. 11, ed. Marian Plezia (Krakow, 1994), pp. 22–23.

136 Information that Julius Caesar founded Lubiąż was given by *Kronika książąt polskich*. See: Marek Cetwiński, "Juliusz Cezar w Lubiążu. Wokół pewnej wizji dziejopisarstwa śląskiego," in *Lux Romana w Europie Środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska*, ed. Antoni Barciak (Katowice, 2001), pp. 29–36.

137 Jan Jurkiewicz, "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów w świetle historiografii. Czas powstania i tendencje polityczne," in *Europa ŚrodkowoWschodnia: ideologia, historia a społeczeństwo. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Wojciecha Peltza*, eds. Jarosław Dudek, Daria Janiszewska, Urszula Świderska-Włodarczyk (Zielona Góra, 2005), pp. 335–350; Elżbieta Kulicka, "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów i jej stosunek do mitu sarmackiego," *Przegląd Historyczny* 1 (1980), n. 71, pp. 1–20.

138 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 7; *Nicolai de Ragnina*, p. 179; *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, p. 15. See: Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," p. 12; Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 60–67n.

139 *Chronicon Salernitanum. A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources on Language*, ed. Ulla Westerbergh, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia vol. 3 (Stockholm/Lund. 1956), pp. 88–89; Živković, "On the foundation of Ragusa," pp. 19–20; Walter Pohl, "History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory," *Early Medieval Europe* 3 (2001), no. 10, pp. 354–355.

in a storm and two ships were wrecked near Ragusa.[140] The castaways lived for some time among the inhabitants of the city, but relations between them and the natives did not go well. So they decided to return to Italy, and in the place where they settled they founded Amalfi.[141]

According to Živković, the story had been passed to southern Dalmatia from Italy. He believed that it happened fairly early. He also noticed that even Porphyrogennetos wrote about ships from Ragusa carrying the imperial army to Italy.[142] Živković interpreted it as evidence that a similar sea route also existed in times of peace. As a result of commercial relations, merchants from Ragusa could have become acquainted with the legend about the origins of Amalfi. According to Živkovic, who at the time of writing his article did not have a firm opinion regarding the date of writing *Regnum Sclavorum* (he specified it in subsequent works), the founding had to have happened: "at the latest from the fourteenth century (Miletius), if not one or two centuries earlier (the Priest of Duklja)".[143]

7 Return of King Bello: *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Annales Ragusini*

All the sources about the beginnings of Ragusa discussed above are consistent on several important issues.[144] The starting point for the described events was

140 "Vocaturque nomen loci illius nimirum Ragusi" – quoted after: Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," p. 19. Parallels between *Chronicon Salernitanum* and the story of the Priest of Duklja were previously briefly discussed by Rački: *Documenta*, p. 281. See: Matijević Sokol, *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*, p. 244.

141 *Chronicon Salernitanum*, pp. 88–89.

142 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 29, p. 129.

143 Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," pp. 21–22.

144 A completely different vision of the origins of the city was presented around 1470 by the Italian humanist Giovanni Mario Filelfo in his poem *La Raguseide* and the prosaic work about the history of Ragusa. In his interpretation, the city was founded by the king of Scythians, Triphone (he was later described as the prince of Sarmatia). Triphone arrived with his people on the Adriatic Sea. He founded the city of Triphonia. His son, named Rago, after the death of his father and the victory over the duke of Pannonia, a certain "Sargonettide Bosno", founded the city of Ragusa. The connection between the name of the Rago and Ragusa is obvious. Riccardo Picchio pointed out that the name Triphonia was a reference to the city of Tribunja ("Povijest Dubrovnika prema interpretaciji humaniste Giovana Maria Filelfa (1426–1480)," *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 1 (1973), pp. 18). According to Neven Jovanović, Filelfo constructed his story freely using themes known from the works of Mieltius and the Priest of Duklja. Therefore, it would be the oldest trace of the presence of *Regnum Sclavorum* in Ragusa. Unfortunately, analysis of Filelfo's work does not fully confirm this assumption: Neven Jovanović, "Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist 'Laudationes Urbium'," *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012),

the sacking of the ancient city of Epidaurus. Then the narrative continued in two ways, and the foundation of the new city was associated with two groups: the refugees from the sacked city, and the newcomers. In all the texts dated later than the account of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the Romans were the newcomers.

Versions of the story are found in two anonymous sources: the older *Regnum Sclavorum*, and *Annales Ragusini*, supposedly written in the Late Middle Ages. These sources extend the image of the origins of the city with one very important motif, namely, the story of King Bello. According to *Regnum Sclavorum*, as well as *Annales Ragusini*, King Bello, a descendant of the old dynasty, returned as the leader of the Romans and was the main proponent of the founding of Ragusa. Both sources clearly appreciate the role of the Slavs in the story. The king was the heir of the Slavic dynasty, and his rule over Ragusa was then supplemented with the return to the throne of the "regnum patrum suorum" (kingdom of his fathers), as the Priest of Duklja put it[145] – i.e. uniting Ragusa and the Slavs under one reign.

In both *Annales Ragusini* and in *Regnum Sclavorum*, as far as the legend of the origins of Ragusa is concerned, the motif of the Romans was bound with a Slavic element. The anonymous author of the annals noted the presence of the "ambassadors" from Bosnia. Later, when King Bello sailed the sea with his 500 men (described as "Persone Romane"), he was expected by 5000 people from Bosnia. Together they set up a tower or a castle called Lave. In unpublished versions of *Annales Ragusini* there were other justifications for the presence of the Slavs in Ragusa. They were supposed to be a guarantee of obedience, or providing military assistance. As Kunčević noted, in the historiography of Raguza in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the tension between the Roman origin and the Slavic present was solved with an image of Ragusa's nobility, which was both Roman and Slavic from the outset.[146]

---

pp. 29. However, it can be stated that the history presented by Filelfo may be a trace of the formation of the Slavic legend about the foundation of Ragusa. This is indicated by the role of Tribunja in that story and the mention of the Scythians or Sarmatians, who in the Late Middle Ages were often portrayed as the ancestors of the Slavs. The edition of both works of Filelfo: Nestore Pelicelli, "Due opere inedite di G. M. Filelfo: La Raguseide e La Storia di Ragusa," *Rivista Dalmatica* 5 (1902–1903), pp. 5–33, 139–176.

145 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

146 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 66. As Kunčević pointed out, one of the unpublished manuscripts of *Annales Ragusini* even derived the name of the city from the verb radunare (to gather), because the city gathered both people from Bosnia and the Romans ("Ragusi per esser radunate gente tanto bosnese como anchora delli Romani"). See: *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 66, note 33.

Despite the striking similarity between both narrations, the story told in *Regnum Sclavorum* differs from that of *Annales Ragusini* in some important details. Discussing these differences may sharpen our view of certain features specific only to the story told by the Priest of Duklja, who combined the tradition of the state of the Slavs and its dynasty with the previously-shaped tale of the birth of the city.

The different forms of proper names seems to be a less important factor, although it must be remembered that in *Annales Ragusini*, Pavlimir is called Radoslav and the name of the defiant son who rebelled against his father is not Časlav but Berislav. In this story, the exiled King Radoslav of Bosnia fled to Rome with his six barons. In Rome, as it was mentioned, he received the title of *Capitanio* from the pope for his bravery. He had there three sons with a certain *Signora Romana*, two of whom died of plague, and the third, Stefano Bello, was the father of Radoslav Bello, the future founder of Ragusa. After the death of Berislav, his two sons and his entire family, ambassadors were sent from Bosnia to Rome, and Radoslav Bello crossed the sea at their instigation.[147] The text might be based on oral sources, which would explain such inconsistencies.[148] As for the narrative layer of the story, neither of these changes is significant anyway. The names of Pavlimir and his father Petrislav in *Regnum Sclavorum*, as Šišić noted, may simply be "hybrids of the names Peter and Paul, which would symbolize Romans".[149] This would emphasize the Roman roots of both protagonists, and, in a more general interpretation, would be a substitute for "Romanism" and the prestige associated with it.

Both Radoslav Bello and Pavlimir Bello performed similar functions in both of the abovementioned narratives. They assumed the role previously attributed to Archbishop Johannes, the leader of the inhabitants of Epidaurus, thus shifting the burden of managing the foundation of Ragusa from the refugees

---

147 *Annales Ragusini*, pp. 3–4. According to *Annales Ragusini*, Berislav died in 524, Radoslav came in 525, and the city was founded in 457 or 458 (in other manuscripts even later, in the sixth century), while the fugitives from Epidaurus arrived afterwards, in 691. See: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 35.

148 In the Croatian version of *The Chronicle* (in which there is no trace of Pavlimir), it was king Radoslav who returned from Rome and took over the kingdom after the fall of Seislav. In *Annales Ragusini*, on the other hand, there are two Radoslavs – the king of Bosna and his grandson, Radoslav Bello. This can indicate the complicated transmission of the thread about the returning ruler. It is difficult to say anything about the oral tradition about Pavlimir or Radoslav in the late Middle Ages but this exchangeability of proper names could indirectly indicate its existence, as in the process of oral transmission the names often change and are subjected to the requirements of the plot.

149 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 443.

of the ancient city and placing it in the hands of the Roman newcomers.[150] The Slavic origin of the two rulers probably reflected the new social structure within the city itself: more frequent cooperation and symbiosis with the Slavic inhabitants of its surroundings.[151]

This is clearly seen in the passages in which both sources mention the reasons for the destruction of Epidaurus. Constantine Porphyrogennetos attributes this act to the Slavs. Miletius leaves the question unresolved, while Thomas the Archdeacon blurs the transparency of his own narrative and claims that the city was destroyed by its builders, the Romans. According to *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Annales Ragusini*, the destroyers of the ancient Epidaurus were Saracens. While *Annales* only briefly mentions "Epidauro, ruinato per Saracini" (Epidaurus, ruined by Saracens),[152] the account in *Regnum Sclavorum* is much broader. When the anonymous Priest of Duklja describes the Saracen fleet, he even shows his knowledge of Greek, translating "miria armenii" as "decem milia vela" (ten thousand sails).[153] This makes the aforementioned hypothesis proposed by Šišić more probable, claiming that this record is based on a document mentioning the Arab attack on Boka Kotorska in 841. It is possible that this information was found by the Priest of Duklja in one of the southern Dalmatian centres, such as Bar or Kotor.[154] The description which, probably contrary to the Priest of Duklja's intentions, presented a negative image of the Slavs can perhaps be attributed to meticulousness in the transcription of the record. In the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the Latins fleeing from Epidaurus to the mountains were initially captured by Slavs who made them their slaves. As was reported by the Priest of Duklja, this situation was solved only by the promise of paying a ransom: "Post haec plurimi Latinos dimiserunt

150 Tendency to depreciate the role of the Bishop of Epidaurus in the legend about the beginnings of Ragusa has been continued in the modern historiography, Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 36.

151 Kunčević also noticed the two mixed variants of the story about foundation of Ragusa; motifs related to the figure of Pavlimir were explicitly called by him the "Slavic" version of the beginnings of the city: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 34–35n.

152 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 7.

153 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

154 Živković, "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello," p. 209; information about the raid of Saracens appears also in works of Renaissance writers from Dubrovnik. However, Živković claimed that they had based it mainly on the text *De administrando imperio* already known at that time: "Saracens appearing in works of the sixteenth-century authors from Ragusa were included in stories of the beginnings of the city because these authors used DAI (and Hagiographies of St. Basil) by Constantine Porphyrogennetos who had mentioned the raid of Saracens in 866. The humanist scholars copied the traditional narration of DAI and other written sources known from somewhere else to create the image of the beginnings of Ragusa": Živković, "On the Foundation of Ragusa," p. 14.

tali pacto, ut omni tempore tributa eis redderent et servitia exercerent" (Later, however, many Latins were released, as long as they would always serve them and pay them tribute).[155] The explanation for this passage may be simple: the Priest of Duklja referred to information on the earlier relations between the Slavs and Latins, describing how the cities were dependent on the Slavs living in the vicinity. The author combined this information with accounts of the Slavic king as a founder and protector of Ragusa. Such an adaptation of the text seems obvious due to the overall image of the figure of Pavlimir. Banašević was correct when he wrote that "the Priest of Duklja could not attribute the sacking of the cities to the Slavs, because he brought them to this land much earlier and he wanted one of the kings of the Slavic dynasty to be the founder of one of them [Dubrovnik]".[156] It seems that the aforementioned "serving and paying tribute" could have been more than simply a formulation inspired by the vision of the Latins harassed by the Slavic barbarians. It is possible that the reference to the tribute was an attempt to explain the political situation of Ragusa in the High Middle Ages and, above all, the relations between the city and the Slavic polities surrounding it. The Priest of Duklja certainly had some idea of them.

In the fragment of *Annales Ragusini* that is the equivalent of the story of the Saracen attack in *Regnum Sclavorum*, the counterpart of the Slavs forcing the Latins to obedience is the Kingdom of Bosnia. The author of *Annales* emphasized that the exiled inhabitants of Epidaurus had always been obedient to the kings of Bosnia,[157] which may be associated with the obligation to "serve and pay tribute" to the Slavs in the text of the Priest of Duklja – expected to be fulfilled by the Latins "ut omni tempore". The reference to the Kingdom of Bosnia, ruled by the royal lineage to which (according to *Annales*) Radoslav Bello belonged,[158] is one of the most important differences between *Annales Ragusini* and *Regnum Sclavorum*. It was probably a fragment of the local Ragusa tradition, which the Priest of Duklja either did not know, or decided not to use. Information similar to that known from *Annales Ragusini* was also later provided by Tuberon. He knew the text of *Regnum Sclavorum* and wrote about King Polimirus (not Radoslav), but nevertheless he identified him as a grandson of Bosnian King Ratislav and a descendant of the family of Gothislav, which can be translated as "fame of the Goths".[159]

155 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

156 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 97.

157 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 7.

158 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 3.

159 Tuberon also derived the name of Ragusa from Radagajs (Radacaso), a chieftain of the Goths: *Lvdovici Tvberonis Commentari*, pp. 88–90; see: Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 105–108.

An analogy can be found between this subordination of Ragusa to the kings *de stirpe Bosnense* and the vision of the Slavic-Latin symbiosis under the reign of the Slavic ruler presented by the Priest of Duklja. The two-stage nature of the transfer of power is clearly visible in his text. The account of the foundation of the city began and ended with a description of the Slavs sending out the deputies and calling on Pavlimir to take over the throne of the kingdom. Immediately after Pavlimir's landing in Gravosa and Umbla, "Miserunt enim Sclavi Bello, qui et Pavlimirus, nuncios, ut veniret accipere regnum patrum suorum" (the Slavs sent a messenger to Bello, or Pavlimir, to come and receive the kingdom of his fathers).[160] However, the Priest of Duklja resumed the story only after finishing the motif of the foundation of Ragusa, and he started it as if from the beginning again: "Inter haec audientes bani et iupani terrae advenisse Bellum, nepotem Radaslavi regis, laetati sunt, et maxime populus terrae Sclavorum; caeperunt undique ad eum confluere, inprimis habitatores regionis Tribuniae, venientes cum magno honore, duxerunt illum in Tribuniam" (When the bans and župans learned about the arrival of Bello, the grandson of King Radoslav to the country, they were glad, particularly the people of the Slavic land; they began to gather together from all over the land, especially the inhabitants of the land of Tribunja [Travunja] who arrived and brought him, with great reverence, to Tribunja).[161] The very composition of the text reveals two sources for Pavlimir's authority. The inhabitants of the Kingdom escorted him to Tribunja, where he was ceremonially proclaimed the king. Although the Priest of Duklja consistently refers to the idea of the broad Slavic community, his description of the royal ceremony of Pavlimir is presented mainly in reference to the older genealogy of the rulers of Travunja, to which Pavlimir probably belonged. In the Ragusa tradition, known from *Annales Ragusini* and the work by Tuberon, the functions of Travunja were taken over by the Kingdom of Bosnia.

It is possible that these are the traces left in the Dubrovnik historiography of the processes of settling relations between Ragusa and the kingdom of Bosnia in the fourteenth century. The main matter of dispute then was the status of the Konavle region, to which Ragusa claimed the rights. A certain document issued by two Hum magnates – župan Bjeljak Sanković and voivode Radič Sanković, his brother – written in Cyrillic and dated 1391, can be interpreted as testimony of normalizing the relations between Ragusa and Bosnia. The magnates offered the port of Cavtat and the land of Konavle to Dubrovnik in return for "services" paid by the city to the rulers of Raška, Bosnia and Hum. The Sanković brothers mentioned that, according to old documents and the

160 *Ljetopis*, p. 70.

161 *Ljetopis*, p. 71. The Priest of Duklja used the name *Tribunia* to describe both the region and its main city. In the translation, the name Travunja was used in reference to the region.

memory of people "transferred from generation to generation", in the place where Cavtat is located by the sea in Konavle župa, there was once an old fortress: Old Dubrovnik, later abandoned.[162]

This may be the case with the *interpretatio slavica* of the legend of Epidaurus. It linked the Slavic land of Konavle with the origins of Ragusa, and mentioned "services" for the Slavic rulers. Raška, Bosnia and Hum were treated here as one political entity. The significance attributed by that tradition to the port of Cavtat was analysed extensively at the beginning of the twentieth century by Milorad Medini, who really believed that the city was located in the place of an "Old Dubrovnik" built after the fall of Epidaurus, and then destroyed by a Saracen raid in the ninth century. Medini referred to the Italian name of the city: Ragusavecchia.[163] Although he did not refer to the Sanković brothers in this context, their relationship with the tradition that identifies Cavtat with older Dubrovnik seems obvious.

The document by the Sanković brothers has always been considered controversial. Released immediately after the death of King Tvrtko I, in the period when royal power in Bosnia was weakened, it unambiguously situated its authors as partisans of Dubrovnik in a dispute with the rulers of Bosnia, the Kotromanić family.[164] Offering Konavle to the city was perceived by the Bosnian magnates as a betrayal of royal interests and in the same year led to the fall of both Sanković brothers. The disputed land was taken over by voivode Vlatko Vuković and prince Pavle Radenović who remained loyal to King Stefan Dabiša. The Sanković brothers were captured and imprisoned by them.[165] It is not difficult to guess that besides the propaganda claiming Ragusa's to Konavle, there was also another interpretation of the legend: according to it, the city had to be obedient to the kings of Bosnia.

Since the legend of Old Dubrovnik could be used by the inhabitants of city and their allies in political actions, the legend of the king of Bosnia as

162 *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*, ed. Franz Miklosich (Vienna, 1858), no. 204, pp. 217–219; *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, ed. Ljubomir Stojanović (Beograd/Sremski Karlovci, 1929), book 1, part 1, no. 129, pp. 123–126; see: Siniša Mišić, "Povelja Bjeljaka i Radiča Stankovicia Dubrovniku," *Stari srpski arhiv* 7 (2008), pp. 113–127; Katičić, "Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo," pp. 159–160.

163 Medini, *Starine dubrovačke*, pp. 159–174; Junije Resti, a Dubrovnik-based historian from the turn of the eighteenth century explained the name Cavtat as *Civitas Vetus*: *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii*, p. 166.

164 According to Kunčević, the document repeated the version of the Dubrovnik diplomats; perhaps it was even composed by them and only given to Sankovićs to be confirmed: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 56.

165 See: John V. A. Fine Jr., *Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, 1994), pp. 455–471.

the founder and protector of Ragusa could be an equally powerful ideological weapon for their opponents. The question might arise of why the Dubrovnik-based authors voluntarily referred to this tradition. This issue deserves to be examined further.

The anonymous author of *Annales Ragusini* was the first who claimed that the inhabitants of Epidaurus were obedient to the kings of Bosnia, and that the founder of Ragusa, King Bello, came from a Bosnian family. The *Annales* were probably written at the end of the fifteenth century, after the fall of the Kotromanić dynasty in 1463, when the Turks captured and beheaded Stefan Tomašević, the last Bosnian king. It seems that when the anonymous Ragusa-based author was working on his *Annales*, old conflicts between the city and Bosnia were no longer significant. The reference to the legendary lineage of Bosnian kings as the founders of Ragusa could have been added for the sake of the grandness of the city.

The same intention was reflected in the retouched genealogies of local patrician families. *Annales Ragusini* mentioned several families claiming their origin to be *d'Epidauro*. One of them, deriving its genealogy "from Bosnia", is described in *Annali di Ragusa*, a later work by Nicola Ragnina, as those who "da Roma venuti con Radoslav Bello, re di Bosna" (came from Rome with Radoslav Bello, the king of Bosnia).[166]

However, according to *Annales Ragusini*, Radoslav Bello was a ruler of the city rather than of the Kingdom of Bosnia. He belonged to the old royal lineage, but he also played a nonfunctional role, in which he became somewhat similar to the figure of Epidaurus, who had arrived from Egypt in the days of Moses to found the city on the Adriatic coast.[167] Relations within the Bosnian dynasty are of little interest to the anonymous author of *Annales Ragusini*. He summarized the takeover of the inheritance of exiled Radoslav by his grandson, also Radoslav, with only one paragraph: "Fo sotomeso tuto Regniame in uno ano, pazificante Re Radosav Bello de Bosna, perchè fo della stirpe reale, e lo paese sucjedeva a lui, perchè altro non era ezeto lui, et per tal cagione tuto paese lo azetava per suo Signore pacificante" (The entire kingdom surrendered within one year, united by King Radoslav Bello of Bosnia, because he was of the

166 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 52–60; *Annales Ragusini*, pp. 161; *Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 186. Symbolic completion of the process of integration of citizens of the city and the rise of the elite of free burghers ruling the Republic was then expressed in the literature. *Pavlimir*, a drama written in the seventeenth century by Junije Palmotić, described the wedding of the ruler and a girl from Epidaurus; Pavlimir asks the inhabitants of Dubrovnik to accept him, after his return, "as a citizen, not as a king" (Junije Palmotić, *Pavlimir*, Zagreb 1995, p. 134; see: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 67–70).

167 *Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 168–174, 187.

royal family, and the country was his heritage, because there was noboty else except him, and therefore the country accepted him, as its reigning Lord).[168] This fact distinguishes Radoslav Bello from Pavlimir as described in the work by the Priest of Duklja, who was far more deserving of the title of the king of the Slavs and also of his "martial" nickname *Bello*.

It is not difficult to find features typical of king-founders in both rulers. They both organized their communities at very critical moments. As we have already emphasized, both Pavlimir and, above all, Radoslav Bello took over the role which according to older accounts was probably performed by Archbishop Johannes. The anonymous author of *Annales Ragusini*, contrary to the Priest of Duklja, referred to the tradition previously passed down by Miletius. It was Radoslav Bello who, according to the *Annales*, brought relics of the saints Petronillla, Domitilla, Nereus, Achilles and Pancratius from Rome.[169] Živković noted that, apart from Domitilla, whose feast is on May 31, all of these saints are commemorated on the same day, May 12.[170] Besides them, the anonymous author of *Annales Ragusini* also mentioned the church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, introduced in the context of the origins of the city by Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and later by Miletius. As we have already seen, Katičić proposed that the names of all the abovementioned saints should be placed within the reconstructed text about the origins of the city.

The Priest of Duklja did not mention any sacred relics in reference to Pavlimir. In our opinion, he could have omitted this motif consciously, because it did not match his image of the ruler and the basic functions attributed to Pavlimir within the broader narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*. The *Annales Ragusini* however brought the issue of the relics to the fore in its narrative. Bringing them to the city was considered the greatest merit of King Radoslav Bello. Besides, they were also the cause of his death. In this narrative, the king drowned while going to the place where the relics were placed in order to be taken away from the city.[171]

The connection of the ruler with the relics brought by him (in this version they were not stolen, although Miletius wrote about the relics "quae secum furtim tulerant Roma fugientes" [Whom the Roman refugees [furtively] brought with themselves]) would reflect his connection with city he founded. In the context of this connection, we can see Radoslav as bearing the features of a legendary cultural hero: a stranger of noble origin who consolidates a community

168 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 4.
169 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 3.
170 Živković, "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello," p. 212.
171 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 4.

mired in chaos, builds a city, and takes responsibility for its prosperity.[172] Živković believed that the Priest of Duklja had a copy of *Historia Regum Britanniae*. If he were correct, one could say that the story of Radoslav Bello, who arrived with the Romans to found Ragusa, corresponds with the narrative about Brutus of Troy, a grandson of Latinus, who was exiled from Italy and founded New Troy in the place where London is situated today.[173] However, this does not necessarily mean that the two texts are linked. The entire – almost archetypal – complex behind the stories of the legendary rulers-founders may also lead us to the Slavic founding legends studied by Třeštik, Banaszkiewicz or Skibinski, or to the oldest legend related to the history of Epidaurus-Ragusa and the figure of Cadmus, one of the most famous founders in Greek mythology, who (besides the city on the Adriatic coast) was primarily credited with founding the Greek city of Thebes.

The founding ethos in the story of King Bello, however, gains a clearer shape when we look once more at the function of the relics brought by him: their presence supported the royal activities related to the foundation of the city. Thus, the bringing of the relics by the Romans and Radoslav should be considered in terms of the symbolism of the very act of transferring sacred remains and the stories about such events. *Annales Ragusini* described the process of bringing the relics in some detail, whereas Miletius, as we saw, knew they had been brought in secret, and thus were probably stolen. The *translatio* of relics in the Middle Ages was often taken literally, as the transfer of the bodies of saints. Moreover, even the thieves of holy remains were treated as heroes and even saints themselves.[174] Bringing relics also meant obtaining the intercession and help of a particular patron saint.[175] It was considered to be the best attempt to overcome crises affecting communities. It would have been no wonder, then, that Radoslav, who came to solve the difficult situation faced by

---

172 On this function of an organizer of the community: Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne*, pp. 7–43.

173 *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. Albert Schulz (Halle, 1854), chapter 17, p. 19; based of similarities of names and situations, Živković tried to compare the chronicle of Geoffrey from Monmouth and *Regnum Sclavorum* (chapter 1): Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 63–64, 77; he did not notice Belinus – a warlike descendant of Brutus – who had participated in the civil war in Rome and had founded many cities: *Historia regum Britanniae*, pp. 31–44.

174 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta sacra. Thefts of Relics in Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), p. 126.

175 Maria Starnawska – admittedly providing examples from Poland – discussed the rite of translation of saints and its typical features in much broader context in her work: Starnawska, *Świetych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu* (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 257–315.

both his people and the exiles from Epidaurus, had decided to bring the sign of the blessing of the saints in a physical tangible form.[176]

Stories of obtaining relics and their transfer to a new place – in this case to the church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr in Pusterna – became part of the local collective memory; they were also a source of pride for the local community.[177] It is this element that distinguishes the narrative of *Annales*, presented from the perspective of an inhabitant of Ragusa, from the way in which the origins of the city are described by the Priest of Duklja, for whom the foundation motif is just one of many elements of the tale about the return of the king and restoration of the Kingdom of the Slavs.

8 Pavlimir Bello as the Founder of Ragusa and as a Restorer of the Kingdom of Slavs

It is possible that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* deliberately omitted the theme of the relics in his narrative. For the inhabitants of Ragusa, it was perhaps the most important part of the local myth about King Bello, but for the Priest of Duklja, the motif of founding the city was subordinated to the broader perspective of restoration of the Kingdom of the Slavs. The very act of founding Ragusa was to bring glory to the later king, but the Priest of Duklja perhaps found the story about the relics irrelevant from the point of view of further actions attributed to Pavlimir.

Roman Michałowski, who analysed the significance of the royal foundations, stated that they fulfilled the functions of "pressure on people" and "pressure on the sacrum". He also mentioned the third function: the desire of a monarch "to present himself as a king or a prince worthy of the name". Michałowski went on to say that "the self-confidence that the monarch could obtain on this path probably had an impact on the manner in which he exercised his power".[178] We must remember, of course, that in the case of the discussed fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum*, both the ruler and the foundation are fictitious. The Priest of Duklja, however, could start Pavlimir's story just from the description of his founding a powerful city, to emphasize his readiness to exercise power and the right to regain the crown.

176 On the phenomenon and its meaning: Geary, *Furta sacra*, pp. XIII, 19n.

177 Geary, *Furta sacra*, pp. 126–129.

178 Roman Michałowski, *Princeps Fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XII w*. (Warsaw, 1993), pp. 7–8.

In fact, Ragusa was not the only foundation of Pavlimir mentioned in the chronicle. The Priest of Duklja describes that after the victorious war against Ljutomir, župan of Raška: "Romani qui cum rege erant, aedificaverunt ecclesiam in Rassia ad honorem beati Petri apostoli in loco propinquo Caldanae. Et non multum longe ab eadem ecclesia, in uno monticulo, constuxit rex castellum vocavitque illud suo nomie Bello. Ecclesiam autem supradictam statuit episcopatum fieri ordinavitque ibi episcopum et episcopatum uqsue in praesentem diem." (The Romans, who were with the king, erected a church in Rassia to honour St. Peter the Apostle, in a place near Kaldane. Not far from this church, the king built a fortress on one of the hills and called it by his name: Bello. This church was raised [by the king] to the rank of bishopric, and he has appointed a bishop and a bishopric there to this day).[179]

It should be noted, however, that the fragment about the founding of Ragusa and the description of the bishopric and fortress near Kaldane had slightly different roles to play within the narrative. Building the fortress immediately after the war uniting the old lands of the dynasty was a visible sign of exercising military control over rebellious Raška by King Pavlimir. In this context, the very process of regaining the frontiers of the old state of the ancestors also changed the place of Ragusa in this story. Two centres, Ragusa in the west and the Bello fortress in the east, were symbolic signs of the boundaries of the royal estates. It is possible that the bishopric in Ras – just like Ragusa – was associated with an older legend attributing the foundation of the diocese to the Romans or to other eminent newcomers. This would explain the chronicler's emphasis on their involvement in the act of foundation – after all, the bishopric was founded by "Romani qui cum rege erant".[180] On the other hand, the fortress was founded by the king himself and called by his own name to mark the geographic scope of his reign.

The difference between Ras and Ragusa became clearer during the events that followed the king's death. Descendants of Tychomil[181] – against whom Pavlimir had previously fought victorious battles – began to rule again in Raška. On the other hand, Ragusa allegedly remained loyal to the widow and the young heir to the throne, Tišemir. As the Priest of Duklja says: "Sola Tribunia obediebat reginae, eo quo parentes eius erant in Tribunia et Lausio,

179 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

180 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 262 – he was convinced that the bishopric in Ras was somehow compared to Rome, yet it was probably rather a form of emphasizing its connection with the Roman founders than crediting Ras with such important attributes within the Kingdom of the Slavs by the Priest of Duklja.

181 "Defuncto rege, ii qui de progenie Tyc[h]omil erant, caeperunt dominare Rassam", *Ljetopis*, p. 72.

et non audebant rebellare ei" (Only Tribunja remained loyal to the queen, for her relatives lived in Tribunja and Lausio),[182] which also emphasized the distinctness of Ragusa within the Kingdom of the Slavs created by the chronicler. It was often a backup for the royal power, a subject separate from the proper lands of the dynasty.[183]

This distinctness of Ragusa within the Kingdom of the Slavs could be confirmed by later events. When the sons of King Predimir were dethroned by their cousin Legec and his seven descendants, the only one delivered from the slaughter was Sylvester, the son of Boleslav and the grandson of Predimir. Sylvester and his mother Castreca found refuge in Ragusa. The Priest of Duklja mentioned that the family of Castreca came from this city. In this case, Ragusa became not only a refuge, but also the point of a new beginning for the only surviving representative of the dynasty.[184]

The very name of Sylvester echoes the name of Dubrovnik – "id est 'silvester' sive 'silvestris'" (that is, "forest" or "in the forest"), as the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum* explained on another occasion.[185] This is probably another trace of a fabulous story, perhaps a reference to some legends about the origins of the city. It is interesting that Banašević, and recently also Živković, referred to the story of the Czech princess Dobrava (Dubravka) while discussing this narrative. The link between these two legends could be indicated by the name of Boleslav appearing in both of them: in the former, prince Boleslav had a son called Sylvester; in the latter he had a daughter, Dubrava. According to Banašević, this could be a trace of some Slavic heroic legend ("[the name of] Sylvester could be presented as Dubravko"[186]). Živković used this example to show the author of *Regnum Sclavorum*'s connections with Bohemia or Poland,[187] making use of the chronicle by Gallus Anonymus. Živković believed that the Priest of Duklja may have known *Gesta principum Polonorum*, or the legend itself, even if indirectly. In both cases, however, these hypotheses should be considered as erroneous and based only on a similarity between the anthroponyms, which seems accidental.[188] Nevertheless, the fragment devoted

---

182 *Ljetopis*, p. 72.

183 Kunčević, while noticing that in *Annales Ragusini* king Radoslav died without progeny, claimed that the Priest of Duklja wanted to emphasize domination of the Slavic dynasty over the city (Kunčević, *Mit od Dubrovniku*, pp. 68–69); however, it is not confirmed by the analysis of Ragusian motifs in *Regnum Sclavorum*.

184 *Ljetopis*, pp. 76–77.

185 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

186 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 117–119.

187 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 255–256.

188 The similar convergence of the styles of Cosmas and the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* was noticed and analysed by Jovan Kovačević, "O uvodu Barskog rodoslova," *Zbornik Matice*

to Sylvester highlights the extraordinary role played by Dubrovnik in the work by the Priest of Duklja.

Besides Ragusa, one other city occupied an important place in Pavlimir's spatial system of power: Tribunja, mentioned several times. Tribunja was the Slavic capital of Pavlimir Bello,[189] where he was raised to the dignity of the king of the Slavs. After his death, as we learn from *Regnum Sclavorum*, it was "sola Tribunia obediebat reginae" (only Tribunja which surrendered to the queen) and the juvenile heir, Tišemir.

Such a perspective of the spatial arrangement of the central points of power could have been imposed on the Priest of Duklja by the genealogy of the Travunian rulers, which he probably used when working on *Regnum Sclavorum*. Tribunja was mentioned as an important centre in the text of the chronicle immediately after the description of the foundation of Ragusa. We have already pointed out this specific course of the Priest of Duklja's story, who presented the establishment of the city in a digressive manner, placing this motif between the first arrival of the Slavic envoys, just after the landing of the Romans, and the events that raised Pavlimir to the Slavic throne. Let us repeat what the Priest of Duklja knew about this: "Inter haec audientes bani et iupani terrae advenisse Bellum, nepotem Radaslavi regis, laetati sunt, et maxime populus terrae Sclavorum; caeperunt undique ad eum confluere, inprimis habitatores regionis Tribuniae, venientes cum magno honore, duxerunt illum in Tribuniam. Postea bani venientes in Tribuniam, cum iupanis et setnicis susceperunt illum honorifice et in die Ascensionis Domini constituerunt illum regem" (When bans and župans learned about the arrival of Bello, the grandson of King Radoslav, to the country, they were glad, particularly the people of the Slavic land; they began to gather from all over the land, especially the

---

srpske 13 14 (1956), pp. 67–70. Banašević, referring to the observations of Kovačević regarding the eponymous names of cities in the work by Cosmas (Vlastislav was used as an example), even suggested the possibility of a direct influence on the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, and pointed out that the place where Vlastislav was built "between the two mountains of Medvez and Pripek, i.e. on the border between two provinces, Bilina and Litoměřice [Belina and Lutomerici]" (*Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 10, p. 19; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, p. 14) – as this area was described by Cosmas. Banašević noticed the surprising convergence of these toponyms with names mentioned by the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum*: Bellina plain, where Pavlimir Bello won over the inhabitants of Syrmia and the Hungarians and the name of his former opponent, Ljutomir, a župan of Raška. Banašević also discussed Boleslav, a grandson of Pavlimir Bello – mentioned only in *Regnum Sclavorum* – suggesting that the name could be derived from the history of Bohemia or even Poland known to the Priest of Duklja, albeit fragmentarily.

189 Possibly the town of Trebinje in Herzegovina. On the symbolic meaning of cities arranging imaginary space: Banaszkiewicz, "Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i tradycji początków ludu," pp. 448–449.

inhabitants of the land of Tribunja who arrived and brought him with great reverence to Tribunja. Then, after his arrival in Tribunja, the bans, who, together with župans and centurions received him with honour, made him their king on the day of the Feast of Ascension of the Lord).[190]

The indicated excerpt of the text can tell us a great deal about how the chronicler imagined the election of the ruler and inauguration of his reign. The central event of the entire ceremony seems to have been the solemn *adventus regis*, during which the nation of the Slavic land, especially the inhabitants of the Tribunja region, respectfully brought the future ruler to the main centre of his future kingdom.[191] The description provided by the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum* is not very detailed, but it is known that the initiative of bringing the king was taken by the people (*populus*) as well as by the bans and župans of the old realm. The narrative scheme of this type of event might include both a joyful greeting of a future king and chanting the *laudes regiae*, which often accompanied ceremonial introductions.[192]

Numerous descriptions of *adventus regis* in other sources from the period of the High Middle Ages can provide an idea of how Pavlimir's entry to Tribunja might have looked. The Priest of Duklja gave a rather laconic account of the king's journey, and everything we may add would only be a supposition supported by descriptions of analogous events. A comparison of the standard course of a royal entry with the description contained in *Regnum Sclavorum*

190 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

191 Several depictions of the *adventus regis* may be found in the work of Thomas the Archdeacon. The chronicler describes, among others, the entry of King Coloman into Split in 1105: "Then the king entered the city and was received with all honor by the clergy and people" (Tunc rex civitatem ingressus, valde honorifice a clero et populo susceptus est, *Historia Salonitana*, p. 96). Dušan Zupka drew attention to the *laudes regiae* which, according to Thomas, accompanied the royal welcome of Andrew II in Split in 1217 ("All the burghers, foreigners and an enormous number of his soldiers formed a procession and went to meet the Lord King, to welcome him singing his praises in loud voices … singing together in a manner worthy of his royal majesty", *Historia Salonitana*, p. 161). Zupka believed that the chants were an element of the local Dalmatian tradition (a trace of Byzantine influence) which was later adopted in Hungary: Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty* (*1000–1301*) (Leiden/Boston, 2016), pp. 45–49. See also: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," The Art Bulletin 4 (1944), no. 27, pp. 212n; Andreas Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche* (Darmstadt, 1970), pp. 88n; Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do XIV wieku*, p. 121.

192 Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary*, pp. 45–49, 117–138; Janet L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), p. 396; Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Przestrzeń i polityka. Studium rezydencji władcy wcześniejszego średniowiecza. Przykład czeskiego Wyszehradu* (Lublin, 2000), pp. 231–237.

will help us, however, to extract information that does not come to the fore in the Priest of Duklja's narrative.

Accounts of this type of ceremony included biblical references, and even messianic elements, allowing us to see the analogies between an entry of a king and the triumphal entry of Jesus to Jerusalem celebrated on Palm Sunday.[193] In this way, the road travelled from the outskirts to the city sanctified the ruler. Bans, župans and centurions – the kingdom's elite and its sole rulers so far – also went to the place of the exaltation of the future monarch. The Priest of Duklja mentioned councils of magnates convoked after they had learnt about the arrival of Radoslav's exiled heir. Only after the departure of the king from Ragusa did the most important magnates of the state go to Tribunja. It seems, therefore, that they postponed their decision until Pavlimir accepted the proposal presented to him by the envoys. Such a description also suggests that only after the acclamation of the people did the magnates decide to accept Pavlimir.

Another interpretation of this passage is also conceivable. The Priest of Duklja could have had more information about the organization of a typical *adventus regis* than would be indicated by his brief description of this event. It is possible that his account of the course of the ceremony is quite accurate. Although this does not directly concern the story of Pavlimir, we can make some general observations here about the symbolism accompanying the royal entry. Jacek Banaszkiewicz, analysing the arrival of Bolesław the Brave to Kiev in 1017, emphasized information passed on by Thietmar that the archbishop had come out in front of the gates of the city to welcome the duke of Poland. Perhaps this scene represents a kind of negotiation, during which the ceremony related to the entrance of the Polish duke and the further conduct of the political actors of the event were discussed.[194] The appearance of Bolesław the Brave in Kiev was associated with the special situation of a conquest, but nevertheless Thietmar mentioned the ceremonial greeting of the ruler in his account. This element of going outside the city walls also appeared in the description included in *Regnum Sclavorum*.[195] Therefore, the image of the entry of the future king to Tribunja given by the Priest of Duklja corresponds in a way to real practices. It is significant that in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, bans, župans and centurions welcome the king at the outskirts of the city. We can

193 On symbolism of royal entries see: Dalewski, *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał*; Kantorowicz, "The King's Advent"; Sabine MacCormack, "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus," *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21 (1972), pp. 721n.

194 Banaszkiewicz, "Bolesław i Peredsława. Uwagi o uroczystości stanowienia władcy w związku z wejściem Chrobrego do Kijowa," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3–4 (1990), vol. 97, p. 8.

195 Banaszkiewicz, "Bolesław i Peredsława," p. 9.

only guess whether the Priest of Duklja imagined any kind of negotiations with the sceptical elite of the old kingdom; one thing is clear, however: he kept silent on this issue.

In this context, Banaszkiewicz's observations regarding Cosmas' narration about the entry of Bretislav II, the duke of Bohemia, to Prague in 1092 are also interesting.[196] This fragment clearly shows complicated relations between secular people and the clergy during such ceremonies. As Banaszkiewicz described it: "First, the duke approaching the city ('advenientem in urbem Pragam' is welcomed by hosts of dancing boys and girls (…); inhabitants, gathering at the churches, express their joy at the arrival of a new master accompanied by ringing bells. The second part of the ceremony begins at the gates of the capital, 'in porta civitatis' – precisely at the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Cosmas, the Bishop of Prague awaits Bretislav there with clergy and a magnificent procession. (…) The Czech chronicler attributed to the bishop an important task at the ceremony of raising Bretislav to the dignity of a ruler. Thus Cosmas 'deducit [ducem] ad solium' as the main celebrant of the ritual of the ruler's inauguration. This is important because half a century before a head of the local clergy had not been responsible for such an act: the enthronement of a duke had been a matter for lay people, representatives of great magnate families. The main figure at the enthronement of Bretislav I in 1037 was his uncle Jaromir, who 'ducit ad sedem principalem' and addressed the people with the words: here is your master".[197]

Although the information provided in *Regnum Sclavorum* does not allow us to obtain a complete picture of the events, the role of the magnates seems to correspond with the tasks of Jaromir, described above. What is striking in the motif of Pavlimir's enthronement is the complete lack of information about the participation of clergymen in the ceremony. This fact seems significant when we take into account the claim of scholars that the work of the Priest of Duklja was written primarily for the needs of the clergy of the Bar diocese. On the basis of this detail (even though it is an important one) it is difficult to determine when this fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum* was composed. Banaszkiewicz believed that the older rite of the coronation ceremony was characterized by limited participation by the clergy, and a greater role by magnate families. However, in the analysed account of Pavlimir's enthronement,

---

196 *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 50, pp. 132–133; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, pp. 89–90.

197 *Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum*, chapter 42, p. 66; *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, p. 46; Banaszkiewicz, "Bolesław i Peredsława," p. 10; see: A. Pleszczyński, *Przestrzeń i polityka*, pp. 219–222.

we should remember not only when it was composed, but also the context and purpose of the description.

Pavlimir's ceremonial entry to Tribunja began his reign in the Kingdom of the Slavs and was associated with the process of restoring the realm. The end of this process was marked by the defeat of Ljutomir, the rebellious župan of Raška. As we know, Pavlimir built a fortress (and named it after himself) in Raška, probably near the centre of Ljutomir's great župania. "Post haec caepit rex perambulare per terram et per regnum suum" (Then the king made a tour of the lands and his kingdom), according to the Priest of Duklja. This line could refer to the manner of exercising power by the king, who travelled with his team and court, visiting particular centres of his land.[198] However, making such a remark immediately after the description of Pavlimir's victory over Ljutomir suggests a rather symbolic dimension to the words used. This is not only about the interpretation of such a lapidary mention in the category of "marking the land" – a magical procedure, during which cultural heroes extended their authority over the area they delineated.[199] It seems that here the vision is different. It is associated with emphasizing the power of the victorious ruler, the image of the king who finally managed to regain his lands within the limits set by his ancestors and approved in Svetopelek's time.

Pavlimir's journey around his state after the victorious war – just like sticking frontier poles in the Saale river by Bolesław the Brave[200] mentioned by Gallus Anonymus[201] – was a kind of demonstration of the power of the ruler. Similar events happened after the next war, fought by Pavlimir against the Hungarians. In this case, the Priest of Duklja gave a detailed description of the agreement concluded after the battle in the field later called Bellina. The defeated Hungarians asked Pavlimir for peace: "Rex praeterea fecit pactum

198 The origins of such an image can be probably traced to the practice of exercising power in the Middle Ages. It was the so-called king-in-motion, *rex ambulans*, moving with his court between the main centres of his state, see: Antoni Gąsiorowski, ""Rex ambulans," *Quaestiones Medii Aevi* 1 (1977), pp. 139–162.

199 On this type of universal symbolism associated with the localisation of cities within his realm with a precisely distinguished centre, the capital; and on the mythical aspect of the very concept of a border and border guards: Banaszkiewicz, *Polskie dzieje bajeczne*, pp. 340–440.

200 On the symbolism of this event: Gotthold Rhode, "Die ehernen Grenzsäulen Boleslaws des Tapferen von Polen," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 8 (1960), pp. 331–353; Banaszkiewicz, "Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i tradycji początków ludu," pp. 464–465.

201 *Galli Anonymi Cronica*, book 1, chapter 6, pp. 16–17; *Kronika polska*, p. 19.

cum eis hoc modo, ut ab illo die in antea non auderant transire flumen Sava et a loco unde surgit et sicut currit usque quo intrat in magno flumine Donavi, neque homines regis transirent in illam partem, neque ili in istam; et placuit eis et fecerunt pacem" (So the king made a pact with them, ordering that from that memorable day they would not dare to cross the Sava river from the place where it springs, up to the place it flows to the great river Danube, that is, that the people of the king would not go to their [the Hungarian's] bank, or they [the Hungarians] would not go on the other side. They [the Hungarians] accepted this and the peace treaty was made).[202] It is no coincidence that the Priest of Duklja described two wars fought by Pavlimir – against župan Ljutomir and against the Hungarians – and both accounts ended with descriptions emphasizing the restoration of the unity of the kingdom and making its borders safe. Pavlimir, returning to the throne, revived in his realm the status quo from before Radoslav's exile. The ruler, who was originally the founder of Ragusa, was later presented primarily as a restorer of the Kingdom of Slavs.

What particular qualities of Pavlimir's restoration-oriented activity deserve further attention? The hypothesis by Živković, who speculated that the story of Pavlimir told in *Regnum Sclavorum* is based to some extent on some certain tradition of Tzeeslav's deeds – a possible historical ruler mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos who probably fought against the Magyars[203] – seems interesting. In previous parts of the present text it was claimed that Tzeeslav was also identified with Časlav, another hero of the chronicle authored by the Priest of Duklja. Živković did not comment in any way on his loosely proposed idea. It would be difficult to prove because of the fragmentary character of the sources.

Nevertheless, there is a certain (albeit fairly ambiguous) link between the fictitious figures of Časlav and Pavlimir as far as the inner logic of the text itself is concerned. If we look at the achievements of both rulers, we will capture a certain repetition of the situation that could have been intended by the Priest of Duklja. In both narratives several characteristic elements were repeated. They were connected on the one hand with the family of Raška župans, and on the other hand with the attacks of the Hungarians on the lands of the kingdom, especially Syrmia. Let us compare these episodes in the narratives about both rulers:

---

202 *Ljetopis*, p. 73.

203 Živković, "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello," p. 218.

– The invasion of Kys on Bosnia started Časlav's war with the Magyars. The usurper, backed by Tychomil, won the battle of Civelino, where "rugiebant ibi Ungari ut porci" (Hungarians wailed like [slaughtered] pigs). The place of the battle was later called Kiskovo, because princeps Kys was killed there. Tychomil was raised to the dignity of župan. Then, already in Syrmia, Časlav, taken by surprise by the Hungarians, was thrown into the Sava river.[204]
– Initially Pavlimir's opponent was Ljutomir, a descendant of Tychomil, raised to the high ranks by Časlav. Ljutomir was thrown into the Ibar river and drowned. Pavlimir's next opponents were the Hungarians, who invaded Syrmia. Pavlimir defeated them in a bloody battle, in which multitudes of invaders and residents of Syrmia, their allies, were killed. After the victorious king, the battlefield was named Bellina. Pavlimir set the boundaries on the Sava river.[205]

It seems that the Priest of Duklja composed both stories from one set of elements. Both seem to be fragments of one narrative. Some specific details are repeated: the naming of the battlefield, death by throwing into the river, the attack of the Hungarians on Syrmia.

It is possible that the author of this record deliberately presented stories of both rulers in this way. Proclaiming Pavlimir a king in Tribunja could be a kind of rite of passage.[206] It was the moment which ended the proper interregnum, but not the process of restoration of the Kingdom of the Slavs, which would be completed only after correcting Časlav's political errors and regaining the old borders existing before the fall of his grandfather Radoslav. By presenting the actions of Pavlimir and Časlav almost in a twin manner, the chronicler emphasized the different effects of the deeds of both rulers and their different effectiveness. Pavlimir's actions would be a metaphorical nullification of the results of the deeds of rebellious Časalav, who by defiance of his father, let the kingdom fall. Pavlimir was forced to fight against the descendants of Tychomil, who had been raised to the dignity of župan, and regain Raška seized by them. Then he had to normalize relations with the Hungarians, defeating them and making peace by securing a border on the Sava river.

This was Pavlimir's task as a restorer of the monarchy – by reversing Časlav's deeds, he led to the symbolic unification of the land of exiled Radoslav, and thus symbolically restored the realm of the Slavs.

204 *Ljetopis*, pp. 64–64.
205 *Ljetopis*, pp. 71–72.
206 Nelson, *Politics and Ritual*, p. 271.

9 The Model Ruler: Pavlimir Bello as New Alexander[207]

Pavlimir's role as the founder of Ragusa, as well as the later vision of the ruler who led to the restoration of the kingdom, did not cover all the royal tasks present in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*. An important feature of Pavlimir was reflected by his nickname – Bello – which emphasized his belligerent nature. In the work by the Priest of Duklja, Pavlimir embodied the ideal of *rex bellicosus*, a warlike king. In fact, it was suggested by the very first description of Pavlimir as a young man in Rome:

> Pavlimirus iam iuvenis effectus, caepit esse valde robustus et fortis bellator, ita ut in civitate Romana nullus ei esset similis. Unde parentes eius nec non alii Romani caeperunt illum valde diligere immutaveruntque nomen eius et imposuerunt ei nomen Bello, eo quo bellum facere valde delectabantur.
>
> (When Pavlimir was a youngster, he became a very strong and brave warrior, so he was unrivalled in the city of Rome. His relatives and other Romans liked him very much, and because he enjoyed soldiering very much, they changed his name and nicknamed him Bello.)[208]

Some historians interpreted Pavlimir's nickname as a trace of the name of the Travunian ruler Belaës (Βελάης),[209] mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Ćorović went even further and noticed that a similar sounding name was used by the Illyrians. He linked the tradition of "White Pavel" with the distorted name of the Bjelopavlici clan.[210]

We will use, however, the explanation offered by the Priest of Duklja, because – as we have already pointed out in reference to similar conjectures concerning Časlav – even if the chronicler indeed added the name of a local prince, or a fragment of oral tradition to his narrative, he composed a completely different story on the basis of them. In both cases, Pavlimir and Časlav, the subject of our analysis, are "histories" of fictional characters. The narrative about Pavlimir is made up of a particularly interesting set of references and hints.

207 Some of the results of the research on this issue was presented in the article: Wawrzyniec Kowalski, "Król Pavlimir Bello i Aleksander Wielki. Wzór wojowniczego władcy w 'Regnum Sclavorum'," in *Poszukiwanie przeszłości. Szkice z historii i metody badań historycznych*, eds. Przemysław Wiszewski, Joanna Wojtkowiak (Wrocław, 2014), pp. 35–49.

208 *Ljetopis*, p. 69.

209 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 34, p. 162; see: *Ljetopis*, p. 69, note 134.

210 Ćorović, *Historija Bosne*, p. 146.

We already know that when Pavlimir became king of the Slavs and bans, župans and centurions surrendered to him as their protector, only Ljutomir, the great župan of Raška, was unwilling to recognize the new ruler. A war was fought for regaining the state borders from the time of the reign of the king's ancestors. Pavlimir defeated Ljutomir in the battle of the Lim river. The army of the great župan was scattered and Ljutomir fled and was soon killed. Only then, after the annexation of Raška, did triumphant Pavlimir really seize the kingdom. The Priest of Duklja concluded: "Rex autem accepit regnum patrum suorum. Et siluit terra in conspectu eius" (The king, therefore, took over the kingdom of his fathers, and the land was quietened under his gaze).[211]

Živković rightly recognized the second part of the sentence as being taken from the First Book of Maccabees.[212] It was not an accidental reference. In the High Middle Ages, Christian heroes were often presented as contemporary Maccabees – insurgents fighting to regain state integrity, the "Reconquest" of the lands of Israel.[213] The Maccabees were initially recognized as a prototype of Christian martyrs, but the perception of them had changed since the time of Rabanus Maurus Magnentius, a Frankish encyclopaedist and military writer, who emphasized the military deeds of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers in his commentary on The Book of Maccabees.[214] In the tenth and eleventh centuries, Judas Maccabeus, along with David and Joshua, was referred to as an Old Testament example of bravery and courage, and in the early fourteenth century the three were included in the canonical group of "Nine Worthies" – the model figures in speculum literature read by medieval princes, and frequent heroes of chivalric romances.[215] Besides David, Judas Maccabeus and Joshua, the set of heroes included three ancient warriors: Hector, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar; and three rulers praised in Western European legends, King Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon.

In this context, the fact that the verse "Et siluit terra in conspectu eius" in the Book of Maccabees referred to one of the abovementioned heroes seems even more fascinating. However, contrary to expectation, it is not used to describe

211 *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

212 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 231.

213 John Halbrooks, "Ælfric, the Maccabees, and the Problem of Christian Heroism," *Studies in Philology*, 3 (2009), no. 106, pp. 268–269; Jean Dunbabin, "The '*Maccabees*' as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," in *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsh, Diana Wood (Oxford/New York, 1985), pp. 31–42; On knowledge of this topos on the fringe of the Christendom: Wiszewski, *Domus Bolezlai*, p. 295.

214 Halbrooks, "Ælfric, the Maccabees," p. 269; Dunbabin, "The 'Maccabees'," pp. 31–35.

215 See: Horst Schroeder, *Der Topos der Nine Worhies in Literatur und bildener Kunst* (Göttingen, 1971).

the deeds of Judas Maccabeus. In fact, the expression appears in this book three times, twice in relation to King Demetrius II Nicator: "Et videns Demetrius rex quod siluit terra in conspectu suo, et nihil ei resistit, dimisit totum exercitum suum, unumquemque in locum suum, excepto peregrino exercitu, quem contraxit ab insulis gentium: et inimici erant ei omnes exercitus patrum ejus" (After this, when King Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, and that no resistance was made against him, he sent away all his forces, every man to his own place, except for a certain bands of strangers whom he had gathered from the isles of the heathen: wherefore all the forces of his fathers hated him) (1 Mch 11:38); and "Et sedit Demetrius rex in sede regni sui: et siluit terra in conspectu ejus" (So King Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him) (1 Mch 11:52). The second excerpt is the closest to the words of the Priest of Duklja, as it also shows similarity to the first part of the quoted sentence, mentioning Pavlimir taking over "the kingdom of his fathers". The author of *Regnum Sclavorum*, however, must have noticed that the discussed verse appears for the first time much earlier in the Book of Maccabees, namely in the first chapter "Et pertransiit usque ad fines terrae: et accepit spolia multitudinis gentium, *et siluit terra in conspectu ejus*" (And went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth was quiet before him; whereupon he was exalted and his heart was lifted up) (1 Mch 1:3).[216] Here the phrase in which we are interested appeared in reference to Alexander the Great, who, although described with reserve by the biblical author, was for him an example of a king-conqueror.

So far scholars have overlooked the fact that the Priest of Duklja could describe the life and deeds of Pavlimir with reference to the life of Alexander the Great. Živković, who noticed the excerpt from the Book of Maccabees in the passage quoted above, analysed several other sentences in *Regnum Sclavorum* referring to Pavlimir. He tried to find not only biblical paraphrases but also traces of the influences of *Historia regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth on the work of the Priest of Duklja – and identified some of them although his work was not based on full consideration.[217] However, except for the fragment quoted above, Živković did not find other accurate quotes in the narrative about Pavlimir, hence our conclusion that the Priest of Duklja used the reference while being fully aware of its significance.

Živković, who seemed to underestimate the significance of such an action by the chronicler, wrote: "There is no doubt that the whole story about Bello is coined of motifs and has its inner order and sequence of events. One of them is

216 English translation after King James Bible.

217 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 231.

the motif of a war with the Hungarians and fixing the borders of the kingdom. When his actions are completed, the king travels over his lands to see if everything is in order. While many motifs fuse into one story, the historical traces in this story are to be discovered".[218] This was also Živković's aim with regard to many other parts of the work of the Priest of Duklja. He tried to recognize topoi and motifs taken from other works, at the same time treating the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* – including Pavlimir's story – as being based (at least to some extent) on unspecified historical events still echoing, in his opinion, in the text.

Živković did not notice, however, that the mere use of a particular topos by a chronicler as a literary device may distort such weak echoes, and even prevent them from being recognised. If the author decided to present the situation according to a specific pattern, then the narration may be almost completely subordinated to this assumption.

Pavlimir's story is also dependent on the Priest of Duklja's narrative goals. The chronicler wanted to portray the ruler-founder, who later became the restorer of the Kingdom of the Slavs, and then he decided to present the figure of the ruler using the model of a warrior-king. There are many indications that this prototype was Alexander the Great. Such a hypothesis could explain some of the mysteries associated with the passage in *Regnum Sclavorum* in which we are interested, and although only presumptive evidence speaks in favour of such an interpretation, there are too many of them to be ignored.

The similarity of creating the figures of Pavlimir Bello and Alexander the Great was manifested mainly in the convergence of the very structure of motifs. We cannot assume that one of the versions of the story of Alexander was well-known to the Priest of Duklja, or that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* had direct access to literature about the ancient leader. Rather, it seems that he used the well-established archetype of the great ruler which was popular in the place where he worked on his chronicle. We do not want to refer to the theories of Jung or to Jungian depth philosophy, but rather to use different set of findings concerning wandering topoi, as well as a limited set of means of imaging specific ideological content.

The parallel between the activities of Alexander and Pavlimir is suggested by the very way the name-based toponyms are created. Pavlimir built a fortress named "Bello" in Raška; also the battlefield where the bloody combat with the Hungarians took place was called "after the name of the king – Bellina".[219] If we wish to compare images of both *bellatores*, the first analogy that comes to

218 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 232.

219 *Ljetopis*, p. 72.

mind are the numerous "Alexandrias" scattered throughout every corner of the Macedonian empire. Of course, if such a detail was isolated, it would not allow us to achieve any far-reaching conclusions. In itself, it only signals a certain literary model regarding the approach of famous conquerors, actually rooted in historical facts.

However, there were more traces of Alexander the Great on the map of Pavlimir's deeds. One of them is connected with the circumstances of the death of Ljutomir, a župan of Raška. When during the battle of the Lim river the troops of the župan dispersed and Ljutomir tried to flee, "some who were with him and wanted to gain royal grace chopped him with swords and threw his body from the bridge to the river, and that is how he died".[220] The Priest of Duklja summed up this account with the biblical excerpt from the Book of Maccabees quoted above. Ljutomir's end, killed by his own people, is similar to the death of Darius III, the Persian ruler fighting against Alexander the Great. Darius was murdered by his bodyguards who wished to gain the favours of the victorious Macedonian invader.[221] We can be skeptical about the possible intended compatibility of the motifs. However, the presented picture of Ljutomir's end was an element of the chronicler's intention which is otherwise hard to interpret.

The most important element supporting the interpretation of the text we have proposed were the circumstances of the death of Pavlimir himself. In contrast to other great rulers to whom the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* devoted much attention, Pavlimir's death was quite unusual in the context of the above-mentioned examples. In the case of other important rulers, the Priest of Duklja most often used the Old Testament pattern. For example, in the description of the death of Svetopelek, lawmaker and founder of the state, the king ruled for a long time and died calmly: "(…) he ruled for forty years and four months and begat sons and daughters, and died at dawn on March 17th".[222] Another one, "the famous King Dobroslav" expired lying on a bed in his court, and his sons, gathered by his deathbed, mourned his death. The last moments of particular rulers were most often described by the Priest of Duklja according to the model of a good and decent death, which is the sum of the righteous acts of the dying man. Of course, *Regnum Sclavorum* includes examples of royal deaths according to a different pattern. In fact, the Priest of Duklja frequently omitted the circumstances of the deaths of particular rulers, limiting his description

220 "quidam qui cum eo erant, volentes habere benevolentiam regis, percutientes eum gladio, per pontem iactaverunt eum in flumen et mortuus est", *Ljetopis*, p. 71.

221 See: Krzysztof Nawotka, *Aleksander Wielki* (Wrocław, 2004), pp. 357–358.

222 *Ljetopis*, p. 56.

to neutral information from chronicles, even in the case of stories of important figures such as King Bodin, about whom we learn only that he "died after twenty-six years and five months of his rule".[223] On the other hand, the death of holy king and martyr Vladimir deserved a special description, but for the sake of our brief categorization, this exception, which is discussed in more detail below, can be omitted at this time. In contrast to Vladimir, the end of Časlav, the usurper, was shameful: he was killed on the orders of a woman. Pavlimir's death stood out from the others described in *Regnum Sclavorum*: although his life and deeds are described in detail by the chronicler, he died quite suddenly and in unclear circumstances.

This is not incompatible with the model of a king-warrior. Sudden death could be the natural result of a violent life. On the other hand, the greatness of the battle deeds of the victorious ruler was associated with the prosperity of the country, hence in a general implementation of the model, an aging *rex bellicosus* often took the role of a just king who died accompanied by his relatives and reconciled with God.

In this context, the succinct mention of Pavlimir's death in the work by the Priest of Duklja is quite surprising: "Quadam autem die, dum intraret in unum oppidum Tribuniae, subitanea morte defunctus est" (One day when he came to one of the cities of Travunja, he died suddenly).[224] This brief note was, however, far from a dry chronicle formula, because it stressed the fact that the death was unexpected. This kind of death was unusual in the context of the presented image of a great ruler. In the Middle Ages, *mors repentina* usually had negative connotations. A person who died suddenly could not prepare for it and reconcile himself with God. It was to be presumed that this type of death was marked by sin and – as a consequence – it was the opposite of both a peaceful death surrounded by family, and a glorious death on a battlefield.

Annales Ragusini also mentioned the violent circumstances of the death of Radoslav Bello, giving quite a negative image of the king, because his death was associated with an attempt to deprive Ragusa of the holy relics donated to the city some time before.[225] The narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* does not mention any aggravating events linked with Pavlimir Bello that could explain his sudden death. It can be noted that here Pavlimir's story resembles that of Alexander the Great. The ruler of the Kingdom of the Slavs died in his capital, Tribunja, just like the Macedonian conqueror who died in Babylon, which he

223 *Ljetopis*, pp. 98–99.
224 *Ljetopis*, p. 72.
225 *Annales Ragusini*, p. 4.

had prepared to be the capital of his empire. Both deaths were described as unexpected and violent.

Our assumption that the Priest of Duklja used here some widespread legend about the ancient ruler can also be confirmed by information about Pavlimir's succession. King Radoslav Bello of *Annales Ragusini* died without issue, leaving the kingdom on the verge of interregnum chaos, whereas Pavlimir's wife gave birth to his son, Tišemir, a week after the king's death. The birth of the posthumous child weakened the force of the sudden death and was a clear sign of God's blessing on the dynasty. The chronicler described the heir by the term *consolator populi*. But although it may appear as if Pavlimir had created a firm foundation for the political unity of his lands, soon after his death, as the Priest of Duklja wrote, Tychomil's descendants regained Raška, "et omnes bani, similiter tempore ut prius, dominari super et nolebantque ullam face rationem reginae nec eius filii" (and all bans, as before, ruled independently, not accepting the sovereignty of the queen or her sons).[226] Only Tribunja, the centre of Pavlimir's state, remained loyal to his descendant. Once again, we can see an analogy between Pavlimir's fate and that of Alexander the Great, who also fathered a child but did not live to see him. The fate of his posthumous son, Alexander IV, and of the whole empire after the death of Alexander the Great, somewhat resembles the situation associated with the fall of the vast kingdom of Pavlimir.

It is also difficult to determine precisely what source the Priest of Duklja could have been using. The history of Alexander was one of the most important literary themes in the Middle Ages.[227] Medieval authors were particularly interested in romances and adventures related to the legend of the Macedonian leader. The sources of Alexander's popularity should be sought in the Greek romance by the author known as Pseudo-Callisthenes. His work gained popularity thanks to numerous local adaptations and translations. The most famous of the Latin texts based on the Greek original was *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonis* by the fourth-century author Julius Valerius, and *Historia de preliis* by presbyter Leon who was active in the mid-tenth century. Other frequently used sources on the figure of the ancient ruler were *Historiae Alexandri* by Quintus Curtius Rufus; the works of Justin, a second-century Latin writer and those of Paulus Orosius, both critical sources on Alexander;

226 *Ljetopis*, p. 72. In both Latin manuscripts plural form for "sons" is used, although – as observed in Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 161, note 167, *The Chronicle* mentioned only the posthumous one.

227 The basic monograph on this issue is still George Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. David J. A. Ross (Cambridge, 1956).

as well as apocryphal letters from Alexander to Aristotle. However, there are no indications that the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* knew any of these texts. The Priest of Duklja certainly had some other sources of information about the history of Alexander besides the Vulgate, yet Pavlimir's story lacks any reference to travel or fantasy motifs that are typical of the already-shaped medieval literary tradition.[228]

Depictions of the fate of many legendary rulers could be modeled after Alexander the Great. According to Martin Homza, the life of Svatopluk, as presented in the chronicle of Simon of Kéza, his war advantages and the borders of his kingdom (especially the enigmatic Bracta mentioned there) testify to the chronicler's attempt to refer to the ancient ruler. Homza even claimed that there had to have been a written heroic version of Svatopluk's legend in the thirteenth century. The presence of Alexander in the Hungarian tradition can be testified by fragments of *Gesta Hungarorum* and *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*, in which the history of Alexander, probably taken from the local version of the *Alexandreida*, probably inspired the description of Attila's war deeds.[229]

There are many hints that the Priest of Duklja could also have, even unknowingly, used popular topoi, naturally associated with the ethics of a knightly king during the time of the chronicler's activity. In the Late Middle Ages, the figure of Alexander the Great was well known in the Balkans.[230] In the first half of the fourteenth century, the Serbian author Danilo, the future Archbishop of the Serbs, compared the Serbian King Milutin (Stefan Uroš II Milutin) to Alexander, while the anonymous continuator of Danilo referred to the ancient ruler in the life of Stefan Dečanski (Stefan Uroš III Nemanjić).[231] The local versions of the *Alexander Romance* were also widespread in the Balkans. Perhaps one of them was the Glagolitic text about Alexander mentioned in Zadar in 1389, which has not survived. The oldest preserved manuscripts

228 On early sources on Alexander: Richard Stoneman, "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods," in *A companion to Alexander Literature in Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya (Leiden/Boston, 2011), pp. 1–21.

229 Homza, *Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov*, pp. 62–63.

230 See: Christian Hannick, "Historismus und Aktualisierungstendenzen im Alexander-Roman in den slavischen Literaturen," in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter. Veröffentlichung der Kongreßakten zum Freiburger Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. Willi Erzgräber (Sigmaringen, 1989), pp. 121–127.

231 Jelka Ređep, "Aleksandar Veliki i kralj Milutin. Srpska Aleksandrida i Danilov zbornik – paralela," *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 1 (1999), no. 47, pp. 19–34.

representing Alexandrine literature are sixteenth-century translations, written in Cyrillic and Latin, based on the romance of Pseudo-Callisthenes.[232]

From our perspective, the most interesting references to the motifs associated with the figure of Alexander the Great can be found in Dalmatian literature of the early modern period. Vincentus Priboevius (Vinko Pribojević), a writer considered to be the father of Pan-Slavism, certainly knew the Croatian text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (though probably only through the translation by Marulić), when in 1525, on the island of Hvar, he made a laudatory speech about the origin and glory of the Slavs.[233] His speech, published in Venice in 1532, included not only footnotes from Marulić's work, but also an extensive passage about Alexander the Great. Priboevius perceived Alexander the Great as a Slav which is clearly evidenced by his commentary: "Alexander Magnus fuit Slaus" (Alexander the Great was a Slav), included in his work in the episode devoted to the ancient ruler. The description of his heroic deeds began with the words: "Quid demum dicam de Alexandro magno Philippi filio, qui (ut primi Macabæorum primo dicit), pertransiit usqæ ad fines terræ & accepit fpolia multitudinis gentiũ, *& siluit terra in conspectu eius*" (What, then, shall I say about Alexander, the son of Philip, who – as the first chapter of the Book of Maccabees says – reached the edge of the earth and took many nations into captivity, and *the land was quieted under his gaze*).[234]

The quotation from the Book of Maccabees is important to our analysis. Priboevius, who carefully listed his sources, did not know anything about King Pavlimir, nor had he read *Regnum Sclavorum*. Priboevius' work was known

232 Miloš Živković, "The Legendary Ruler in Medieval Guise: Few Observations on the Iconography of Belgrade Alexandride," International Conference Of Young Specialists "Actual Problems in Theory and History of Arts," Saint Petersburg 2010, http://www.actual-art.org/en/k2010-2/st2010/94-vh/192-the-legendary-ruler.html 2013, where the author emphasizes the importance of texts about Alexander in shaping Serbian literature of Late Middle Ages and their popularity measured by the number of preserved manuscripts from Late Middle Ages/early modernity. The source study: Vatroslav Jagić, "Ogledi stare hrvatske proze IV. Život Aleksandra Velikog," *Starine* 3 (1878), pp. 208–336; Stojan Novaković, *Pripovetka o Aleksandru velikom u staroj srpskoj književnoti* (Belgrade, 1878).

233 On Pribojević and his work, see: Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* (Zagreb, 2008), pp. 113–137; Anita Peti, "Vinko Pribojević: De origine successibusque Slavorum," *Dani Hrvatskog kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, 1 (1991), no. 17, pp. 251–259; Fine Jr., *Late Medieval Balkans*, pp. 223–229; Domagoj Madunić, *Vinko Pribojević and the Glory of the Slavs* (Budapest, 2003) (MA thesis, History Department of Central European University).

234 *Oratio fratris Vincentii Priboevii sacrae theologiae professoris ordinis praedicatorum De Origine svccessibvsqve Slavorvm* (Venice, 1532), [p. 16 – no pagination]; Critical edition (original text and Croatian translation): Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, trans. Veljko Gortan, Pavao Knezović, ed. Mirolsav Kurelac (Zagreb, 1997), p. 67.

to Orbini, who (from other sources) was familiar with the story of the ruler-founder of Ragusa and included it in his *Il regno degli Slavi*, as he also did with the translation of the Priest of Duklja's work with the fragment containing the reference to the Book of Maccabees. Certainly, such a sequence may indirectly support the hypothesis proposed by Solange Bujan, who argued that Orbini to a large extent forged the Latin version of *The Chronicle*, but it is still only a trace which requires further confirmation.

Since the sixteenth century, consecutive versions of the speech by Priboevius have been supplemented with text by Sigismundus Philochristus de Gorgiata addressed to Philip Trivulzio, the Archbishop of Ragusa. De Gorgiata was informed in it that a special document had been discovered in Constantinople.[235] The document, signed by the ruler of the world, Alexander the Great, was supposedly outstanding proof of grace for the "Slavic people" and his admiration of their war merits. The letter was annexed with the Latin translation of the allegedly ancient document, originally written in Greek. According to it, Alexander gave to the Slavs the lands from Aquilona to the borders of southern Italy.[236] This document is one of the many extant versions of the forgery known in the historiography as *Privilegium Slavicum* (The Slavic Privilege), or *Alexander's Donation*.

Scholars still argue where the sources of the tradition of the special recognition of the Slavs by Alexander the Great should be sought. The first traces of the narrative about the fight between them can be found in the *Chronicles of the Kings and Princes of Poland* by Wincenty Kadłubek. However, the oldest known mention of *Privilegium Slavicum* itself was much later and came from Bohemia. In 1396, abbot Petr Šmolka was to enter the text of the charter in the register of the Emmaus Monastery (called "Na Slovanech").[237] The document was part of an earlier tradition connected with Alexander dating back to the thirteenth century. The figure of an ancient leader served various interests: the identification policy of the royal dynasties – the House of Přemyslid and the House of Luxembourg – and, a bit later, the ideology of the Hussites.[238]

235 Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, pp. 50–51. Sigismundus Philochristus de Gorgiata was a pen name of Sigismund Đurđević, a Dubrovnik-based humanist, who (despite his own suggestions) was not the one responsible for discovering the text, but nevertheless Priboevius probably adapted the form of *Privilegium Slavicum* from him: Hrvoje Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog u korist Slovena," in idem, *Sa stranica starih knjiga* (Split, 1968), pp. 116–117.

236 Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, pp. 52–53.

237 Albert Pražak, *Staročeska báseň o Alexandru Velikém* (Prague, 1945), p. 263.

238 The text of *Privilegium Slavicum* appeared in the work by Laurentius from Brösau (Vavřinec z Březové) circa 1435. About the Czech tradition: Pražak, *Staročeska báseň*; Anežka Vidmanová, "K privilegiu Alexandra Velikého Slovanům," in *Husitství – reformace – renesance: sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, ed. Jaroslav Pánek (Prague,

As a result of Polish-Hussite contacts, the knowledge of *Privilegium Slavicum* leaked to Poland, where, it seems, it was quite widespread in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[239]

However, the roots of the legend of *Privilegium Slavicum* are often sought outside Western Slavdom, in the Balkans. This direction is certainly influenced by the place where the charter was mentioned for the first time. The Emmaus Monastery "Na Slovanech" in Prague was linked with the Croatian centres of Glagolitic literature and the Slavic tradition in general. Hrvoje Morović pointed to the old hypothesis of Jozef Dobrovský, who believed that information about the alleged charter was transmitted to Bohemia by Croatian monks.[240] This was indicated by some notions related to Illyria appearing in the text of the charter, as well as the probable context of making the forgery an ideological weapon to fight against the Turks.[241] As Paweł Madejski showed, the sixteenth-century Polish historians were aware of the existence of some South Slavic version of the document. Madejski quotes *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi* (Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia) written in the second half of the sixteenth century by Maciej Stryjkowski: "Karvats and Bulgars claim that the charter [*priwilej*] on parchment, given by Alexander to the Slavs, and written with golden letters in Alexandria, is today in the Turkish treasury, which the emperor Machomet [sic] took when he captured Constantinople".[242] The *priwilej* mentioned by the chronicler was perhaps identical with the appendix to Priboevius' work. This is probably the oldest printed text of the document[243] and the oldest known copy of *Privilegium*

1994), pp. 105–115; eadem, "Ještě jednou k privilegiu Alexandra Velikého pro Slovany," in *Pulchritudo et sapientia: ad honorem Pavel Spunar*, eds. Zuzana Silagiová, Hana Šedinová, Petr Kitzler (Prague, 2008), pp. 179–187.

239 Tomasz Ślęczka, *Aleksander Macedoński w literaturze staropolskiej* (Wrocław, 2003); Paweł Madejski, "An Unknown Version of 'Privilegium Slavicum'," in *Studia Lesco Mrozewicz ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*, eds. Sebastian Ruciński, Katarzyna Balbuza, Krzysztof Królczyk (Poznań, 2011), pp. 239–254.

240 Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," pp. 117–118.

241 Lilla Moroz-Grzelak, *Aleksander Wielki a macedońska idea narodowa: słowiańskie losy postaci antycznej* (Warsaw, 2004), pp. 40–41.

242 Maciej Stryjkowski, *Kronika Polska Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiéj Rus*, ed. Mikołaj Malinowski (Warsaw, 1846), p. 107; Madejski, "An Unknown Version," p. 243. Another Polish historian of the period, Stanislaw Sarnicki, wrote later about two privileges: one for the Slavs in the north and the second one for the Bulgarians and Croatians in the south: *Stanislai Sarnicii Annales, sive De origine et rebvs gestis Polonorvm et Litvanorvm* (Krakow, 1587), pp. 43–46.

243 The next printed editions appear in the chronicle of Václav Hájek of Libočan in 1541 (Czech translation), and in the work by Dominik Cyllenius in 1549: Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," p. 115.

Slavicum from Southern Slavdom.[244] Although the legend itself was most likely much older, Priboevius presumably knew some version of the charter from Poland, where he stayed for several years before 1525.

Privilegium Slavicum soon gained fame outside Bohemia and Poland. The text was quoted in his works by Adam Bohorič, a Slovenian preacher, and by the authors from the Ragusa region, among others Orbini and Juraj Rattkay.[245] Orbini, the most important in this context, considered – after Priboevius – Alexander and the Macedonians as Slavs, not Greeks. He also mentioned a copy, stored in Constantinople, of the charter issued by Alexander and addressed to the Illyrians, among them "the noble family of Slavs".[246] He also referred to an Italian translation of *Privilegium Slavicum*, discovered by a certain Giulio Baldasar, named by him "Secretario Imperiale".[247] Orbini presumably used as his source one of the copies based on a printed version from the work by Priboevius. In a further part of *Il regno de gli Slavi*, he mentioned that Emperor Charles IV ordered the writing of the text of *Privilegium Slavicum* with golden letters in the Monastery "Na Slovanech" in Prague. He learned about this from the Krakow-based canon Krzysztof Warszewicki and "other Poles". Orbini stressed that he did not know it before printing a part of the works containing the text of the charter.[248] He also informed about fights between the Bessi and Tribulani, Illyrian tribes, with Philip II of Macedon, and their participation in the campaigns of his son. He identified these tribes with the Bosnians. The words of the poet Ivan Gundulić, who in the first half of the seventeenth century mentioned "Lehsandar Srbljanin" [Alexander the Serb] in his epic poem *Osman*,[249] confirms that the tradition of "Slavic Alexander" was strong in Ragusa. If our interpretation of the fragment about Pavlimir is proved to be correct, it could be another piece of evidence on the popularity of similar motifs on the Adriatic coast, and perhaps the earliest trace of forming the Slavic-Alexandrine tradition.

---

244 The work was translated into Croatian in the first half of the seventeenth century by a Franciscan monk Franje Glavinić (text in: Morović, *Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog*, pp. 119–120). Priboevius' text inspired numerous copies in manuscripts; one of which was at the disposal of Peter, the father of Johannes Lucius (Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," p. 118).

245 Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," p. 114, 119.

246 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 11–13.

247 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 168–169.

248 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 377–378. Contrary to the claims of Morović, it was not Warszewicki who was the source of Orbini's information on the translated text of *Privilegium Slavicum* itself (Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," p. 119).

249 Ivan Gundulić, *Osman*, *Pievanje tretje* (Zagreb, 1844), p. 30. Then also other poets from the Adriatic region, see: Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog," pp. 120–121.

The motifs that we could consider to be related to the indicated reference appeared in the second part of the story about Pavlimir. The figure of King Bello does not appear in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. This could support the proposition advanced by Medini, that the Latin variant was supplemented in Ragusa in the Late Middle Ages. The story of Bello in the narrative of *Annales Ragusini* was completed in a different way. The possible compiler (the Priest of Duklja) had to adapt these motifs to the entire plot of *Regnum Sclavorum*, and their details would be rather the result of his inventiveness based on general knowledge about the famous king-warriors.

The chronicler might hide the source of his knowledge about Alexander because the figure of the ancient conqueror was sometimes treated with reserve, especially in ecclesiastical circles. Although Alexander was undoubtedly one of the models of an ideal ruler, his image was marred by the fact that he was a pagan and sometimes caused ambivalent feelings among medieval commentators.[250] Another feature that often appeared on the occasion of a negative description of Alexander was the pride (*superbia*) which was attributed to him.[251] Thus, if the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* knew similarly negative characteristics in the Macedonian ruler, he might have wanted to avoid direct comparisons, especially in the context of contrasting in the narrative the figure of Pavlimir with the figure of Časlav, who, *elevatus in superbia*, committed a fateful sin against his father.

There is also an alternative explanation for the vague similarity between some of the motifs in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*: it was written by Orbini himself. Orbini, a publisher and attentive reader, would have certainly noticed correspondence between the description of the story of Alexander the Great written by Priboevius and the rhetoric used in the quoted fragments of the Latin variant of *The Chronicle* (even if it does not refer directly to the life of Alexander). If Orbini himself decided to supplement some existing text, would he want to hide his inspiration? Again, this is a problem for future scholars. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that if there were a part of the Priest of Duklja's work which showed some features of later retouching, it would be precisely the narrative about Pavlimir Bello.

---

250 Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, pp. 185n; Roberta Morosini, "The Alexander Romance in Italy," in *A companion to Alexander Literature in Middle Ages*, pp. 339–340.

251 Danielle Buschinger, "German Alexander Romances," in *A companion to Alexander Literature in Middle Ages*, p. 293n.

10 Summary

The story of Pavlimir Bello in *Regnum Sclavorum* was three-pronged, and the image of the ruler was shaped according to the selected narrative scheme. In the first part, probably based on the local Ragusa tradition, Pavlimir was presented as a ruler-founder, leading the Romans and uniting his people – both the refugees from Epidaurus and the Slavs – in the joint task of constructing the city. The combination of these three groups constituted a formulaic element of legends about the foundation of Ragusa. The story of Epidaurus seems to be older; the motif of the newcomers from Rome appeared later, but even as early as the mid-thirteenth century it was more widely known (it was included in Thomas the Archdeacon's account). In the early modern historiography of Dubrovnik, both motifs were intertwined, and to some extent they also competed with each other.[252]

The figure of Pavlimir Bello was also added to the narrative. It is not completely clear when and where this happened. Lovro Kunčević believed that the Slavic king was introduced to the legend by the Priest of Duklja, who lived in the twelfth century. Therefore, it would be an external version of the story. Its purpose could be "to justify the claims of the rulers of Duklja and the Church subordinate to them".[253] Kunčević mentioned the attempts to subordinate the city by King Constantine Bodin at the end of the eleventh century and the conflict between the bishoprics in Bar and Ragusa. The goals of the anonymous author of *Regnum Sclavorum* could be described as follows: "the story of the foundation told by the Priest of Duklja supported the claims of the Duklja rulers, because it constituted them as the rightful heirs of the founder of Dubrovnik".[254] According to Kunčević, *The Chronicle* was known in the city as early as the thirteenth century, but it was only since the fifteenth century that the history began to be used and processed by local writers in accordance with the propaganda requirements of the emerging Republic; this could be

252 Kunčević, in his study of the pragmatic functions of stories about the beginnings of the city, noted that in the accounts of some chroniclers and historians (e.g. in *Annales Ragusini* or in the work by Tuberon), the incomers from Rome arrive first, while according to others (e.g. Orbini and Cervinus) the inhabitants of Epidaurus built the city before the arrival of the Romans: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 35.

253 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 68.

254 Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, p. 68.

indicated by the death of Radoslav Bello without progeny in *Annales Ragusini*, or in the recognition of the king as the founder of the Senate by Tuberon.[255]

Even then it is difficult to tell when and in what form *The Chronicle* reached Ragusa. There are many indications that it happened much later than in the thirteenth century. Tuberon was familiar with it, though his comments suggest that in the manuscript available to him, the Priest of Duklja mentioned Bishop Johannes, which would rather undermine the claim of a polemical character in the description in the aforementioned dispute between the two bishoprics. Similarly, the figure of Bodin was presented quite negatively. The claims of the rulers of Duklja in the twelfth century could not be strengthened by sketching the image of an usurper seizing the city. Katičić showed, however, that the Priest of Duklja was familiar with local legends about the foundation of the city. The very shape of his narrative, due to numerous inclusions, would rather show the use of local motifs in the process of forming a more complex story about King Pavlimir. Moreover, by referring to the Romans and to the city of Epidaurus, the ancient identification of Dubrovnik was highlighted, despite the inclusion of Slavic dynasties into the plot. The Priest of Duklja's unfavourable attitude to the local tradition was not noticed by modern historians who translated and quoted *The Chronicle*. There is also the problem of Radoslav in the Croatian text. This figure was connected with Rome, but not with the foundation of Ragusa. Such a form of the king's name was also preserved by *Annales Ragusini*; according to this text, the main merit of the ruler was the act of bringing the relics back to the city. This distinguished Radoslav from Pavlimir, who, according to *Regnum Sclavorum*, was detached from such a close relationship with the fate of the city.

The Priest of Duklja's perspective was subordinated to the main concept of the work, that is, the presentation of the history of the legendary Kingdom of Slavs and its rulers. Thus, Pavlimir was also a restorer of the kingdom, which he inherited from the exiled Radoslav. The Priest of Duklja deliberately omitted some motifs – important from the perspective of the inhabitants of Ragusa (such as bringing the relics by the king), while emphasizing those connected with the role of the Slavic subjects, preparing the figure of the king for taking over power in their state. The change of roles is symbolized by Pavlimir's *adventus* to Tribunja, and the bans and župans raising him to royal dignity. From that

255 An excellent analysis of the modern fate of the figure of Pavlimir: Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*, pp. 69n; *Lvdovici Tvberonis Commentarii*, p. 90.

time, the fate of the ruler was presented on the basis of a symbolic opposition to the deeds of his rebellious uncle Časlav. The Priest of Duklja focused on the description of Pavlimir regaining the entire territory of his ancestors and securing the integrity of its borders. The king, by carrying out the task of joining the borders, symbolically washed away Časlav's guilt and removed the curse threatening the country.

Parallel to the vision of Pavlimir as a restorer of the kingdom, the chronicler also shows him as an ideal king-warrior. This feature was already symbolized by his nickname, Bello. In the process of creating the image of the king, the Priest of Duklja, quoting the Book of Maccabees, seemed to refer to the figure of Alexander the Great. It is very likely that several narrative motifs related to the story of Pavlimir can be explained with this interpretative key.

CHAPTER 6

Vladimir as an Example of a Ruler-Martyr: Functions of the Model of a Holy Ruler in the Narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*

1 Introduction

The legend of King Vladimir is a clear turning point in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*. In fact, it is so distinct that some scholars speculated that the Priest of Duklja was the author of only one part of *The Chronicle*, the one that follows the description of the martyrdom of the ruler. As for the geography, after this point, the plot of the work clearly moves to the southern areas of Dalmatia, while royal names and some of the events described in it are often more similar to the history of the medieval state of Duklja and its rulers from the eleventh and twelfth centuries than was the previous part.

In principle, scholars studying the Latin text of *The Chronicle* agree that the fragment devoted to Vladimir's fate shows the features of an independent work. It could be that it was taken from the lost *Life of St. Vladimir*, which, it is assumed, was composed shortly after the death of the protagonist in 1015 or 1016. If these assumptions are true, it would be the oldest part of the text included in *Regnum Sclavorum*. One of the first verses introducing the narrative about Vladimir, "Tempore itaque eodem …" ("So in this time …") looks as if it might mark the start of the hypothetical hagiography,[1] that was previously an independent literary piece, although it cannot be ruled out that the prologue of this work is the story of King Petrislav, Vladimir's father.

The very fact that this story has been included in *Regnum Sclavorum* significantly changes the possible ways in which it may be interpreted. The figure of Vladimir should be associated with the new model of a ruler. He was a king-martyr, a theme which was especially popular in the peripheral areas of Christian Europe in the eleventh century. The symbolism associated with stories of king-martyrs was used effectively in the establishment of dynastic cults strengthening the ideological message of the ruling houses.[2] In addition,

1 Leśny, *Żywot Jana Włodzimierza*, SSS vol. 7, part 1, pp. 301–302.

2 In reference to Central Europe, the following texts can be mentioned here: Norman W. Ingham, "The Sovereign as Martyr. East and West," *The Slavic and East European Journal*, 17 (1973), no. 1, pp. 1–17; idem, "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir of Dioclea," *International Journal*

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_007

the Priest of Duklja found this model suitable for describing the ruler in the changed situation of the Kingdom of the Slavs.

The legend of Vladimir was the implementation of a narrative scheme typical of hagiographical works, although some of its motifs were based on a local tradition and were not necessarily related to the ruler of Duklja originally. In order to comprehend the complexity of the legend of Vladimir and form hypotheses about its significance within *Regnum Sclavorum*, first we have to trace the possible path of development of the royal cult and locate the earliest motifs surrounding the ruler. Next, we have to analyse the information on Vladimir in the Byzantine sources, while showing that from the very beginning, the narrative about the king was built by means of literary topoi, linked to its special legend-creating character. In this context, we should also identify in Vladimir's story topoi typical of medieval hagiographic works, especially the eleventh century works about king-martyrs. Analysis of these aspects of the narrative will allow us to comprehend the significance of the model of power represented by the figure of this ruler, one which is fairly unusual within the frame of the Priest of Duklja's story.

2 The Development of the Cult of St. Vladimir

On the basis of available sources, we can outline the stages of formation of the cult of St. Vladimir. Saying that, there are many gaps between the particular discernible elements of the formation of the saint's cult, and the means of transition and mutual connections between its main currents are unclear. The situation is further complicated by the possible penetration by elements of epic oral poetry, in which the figure of Vladimir played a significant role, certainly from the eighteenth century, and probably much earlier.

Texts related to St. Vladimir can be classified as belonging to one of two main traditions.

The first was linked to *The Life of St. Vladimir*, the hypothetical hagiographical text which, in a complete or an abbreviated form, was incorporated into *Regnum Sclavorum* (it is only known from the Latin version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*). In the historiography it was also known as *The Tale of Vladimir and Kosara*.

The existence of some kind of hagiographic text was confirmed by the Priest of Duklja himself, who stated that readers "librum gestorum eius relegat" (… should read the book about his deeds), although any reference to Vladimir's

of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics 3536 (1987), pp. 199–216; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 1–19n.

gesta is controversial, because this mention is not included in Orbini's Italian translation of *The Chronicle*, even though the translation is older than the extant manuscripts of the Latin text.[3] Moreover, no trace of the hypothetical hagiography has survived, and the distinct construction of the episode – which stands out in comparison to the rest of the work – is the only premise for believing the chronicler. Šišić doubted whether the biography ever existed in a written form, and believed that the text of *Regnum Sclavorum* was based solely on an oral tradition.[4] This view is not supported by modern scholars. Norman Ingham was also sceptical that the alleged biography had functioned independently before *The Chronicle* was written. Although he considered the Priest of Duklja's narrative as a typical example of the Slavic traditions of king-saints of the tenth and eleventh centuries, he suggested that the legend was an integral part of *Regnum Sclavorum*, and that the religious motifs were secondary to the dominant historical argument, and not vice versa.[5]

Stefan Trajković-Filipović, like Ingham, critically evaluated the hypothesis that the independent biography existed before *The Chronicle*. According to him, the discussed fragment in *Regnum Sclavorum* was a skilful counterfeit by Orbini, who, with his knowledge of medieval hagiographies and using Byzantine sources, managed to make up a large part of the work of the so-called Priest of Duklja, including Vladimir's story.[6] Trajković-Filipović noted that Vladimir's name appeared in liturgical books from the early fourteenth century, yet before the seventeenth century there had hardly been any other manifestations of the cult of this saint.[7]

If, however, *Regnum Sclavorum* was not a counterfeit, and St. Vladimir's hypothetical hagiography had functioned independently before it, the latter would probably be the most archaic part of the narrative arranged by the Priest of Duklja. Some details, confirmed by the account of the Byzantine historian John Skylitzes, suggest that the core of the text might have been formed in the eleventh century. Such a text would probably have been written in Latin,

3 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 265.
4 Šišić, *Letopis*, pp. 122–124.
5 Ingham, "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir of Dioclea," p. 211.
6 Trajković-Filipović, "Inventing the Saint's Life: Chapter XXXVI of 'The Annals of the Priest of Dioclea'," pp. 259–276. Trajković-Filipović revised his view on the issue of the origin of the discussed passage about St. Vladimir in relation to his previous arrangements, in which he opted for the early origin of the monument: Trajković-Filipović, *Saint Vladimir of Zeta. Between Historiography and Hagiography*, MA thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University (Budapest, 2012).
7 Trajković-Filipović, "Inventing the Saint's Life," p. 276.

although in the past there were also hypotheses that its original version was Slavic.[8]

The fragment about Vladimir and his wife Kosara is one of the most popular motifs of *The Chronicle*. The story was repeated in Orbini's translation, in a slightly changed form.[9] Much later, both versions were adjusted and propagated by the Croatian Franciscan Andrija Kačić Miošić, who included *Pisma od kralja Vladimira* in his once extremely popular work *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga*.[10] According to Nenad Ljubinković, this work inspired numerous reports by anonymous authors, circulated orally, in which one can find references to this written tradition based on *Regnum Sclavorum*.[11]

The second group of the two main traditions consists of literary pieces from the circle of the so-called *Elbasan legend of St. Vladimir* (in this variant the protagonist has the additional name Jovan). It was probably composed in the monastery Shën Gjon (Saint John) in central Albania, near the place where Turkish army erected the castle of Elbasan in the fifteenth century. The church was founded by the Albanian magnate Karl Topia in 1381. We know this from an inscription in Greek, Latin and Slavic which dates back to the end of the fourteenth century and states that Jovan Vladimir's temple had been constructed on the site of a church that had been destroyed to its foundations during an earthquake that affected Albania during Topia's reign.[12]

The oldest preserved written piece belonging to the tradition related to the cult of Jovan Vladimir in Elbasan dates to the end of the seventeenth century. In Venice in 1690, Ioannis Papas of Elbasan financed the publication in two versions (shorter and more extensive) of the account of Vladimir's life and sermon; this is in Greek and is known as *Akolouthia*. The work is attributed to Kosma, who at that time was a deputy (*epitropos*) of the Ohrid Archbishop, and in 1694 became a bishop of Dyrrachium (Gr. Δυρράχιον, Sr. Drač, now: Durrës).[13]

8 Stojan Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti među Slovenima. Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari*, vol. 1 (Beograd, 1893), p. 203; see: Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 264.

9 Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi*, pp. 220–225.

10 *O. Andrije Kačića-Miošića Razgovor Ugodni Naroda Slovinskoga* (Zagreb, 1862) [1st edition 1756], pp. 45–49.

11 Nenad Ljubinković, "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari – između pisane i usmene književnosti," in idem, *Traganja i odgovori. Studije iz narodne književnosti i folklora*, vol. 1 (Belgrade, 2010), p. 156.

12 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, pp. 226–27.

13 *Ακολουθία του αγίου ενδόξου βασιλέως και μεγαλομάρτυρος Ιωάννου του Βλαδιμήρου και θαυματουργού τυπωθείσα μεν πρώτον δαπάνη του τιμιωτάτου Κυρίου Ιωάννου Παπά του εκ της πόλεως Νεοκάστρου* [*Akolouthia tou agiou endoxu basileos kai megalomartyros Ioannou tou Bladimerou kai thaumatourgou. Tympotheisa men proton dapane tou timiotatou Kyriou Ioannou Papa tou ek tes poleos Neokastrou*] (Venice, 1858) [reprint of 1774 edition].

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Kosma's narrative, reprinted and modified,[14] became the foundation for the Orthodox cult of St. Jovan Vladimir.

More or less from the mid-eighteenth century, initially with the migration of the Albanians to the lands of Kosovo, and from the nineteenth century, probably under the influence of the official cult in the Serbian Orthodox Church,[15] the motifs related to Jovan Vladimir began to penetrate epic songs. Within the Kosovo cycle, there is a tendency to merge the motifs associated with the figure of the saint with those that were usually associated with the greatest hero of *boj na Kosovu* [the battle of Kosovo]: the semi-legendary Miloš Obilić.[16]

Kosma's narrative had little to do with the story known from *Regnum Sclavorum*. In fact, only the main axis of the plot – the description of the relationship between Jovan Vladimir and Vladislav which ended with the death of the former – constituted a permanent motif in both groups of texts. Other similarities may be the result of literary convention. Among the themes shared by the Latin tradition preserved in *Regnum Sclavorum* and the cycle of Greek texts, perhaps one can mention the motif of Vladimir's cross, although in the text by Kosma the related plotline was entirely different.[17]

The Greek narrative attributed numerous dynastic links to Jovan Vladimir. His father was said to be "Neman", described as "the Triballian king" (in Byzantine literature "Triballian" was synonym of "Serbian"), while his mother was Anna,[18] obviously referring to Stefan Nemanja, the founder of the Serbian Nemanjić dynasty, and his wife. The text also suggested that Jovan Vladimir's grandfather was called Simeon, and the memorial (μνήμη) of the saint attached to the main text specified that he was the first Bulgarian king.[19] In this case, however, the inspiration might have come from Stefan Nemanja's monastic

Critical edition of the source text can be found in: Vasilka Tâpkova-Zaimova, "Un manuscrit inconnu de la vie de S. Jean-Vladimir," in eadem, *Byzance et les Balkans à partir du VI^e siècle: les mouvements ethniques et les États* (London, 1979), pp. 179–188; and (fragmentary) in the already quoted article of Novaković (pp. 238–284) – below I use the latter of the two mentioned editions.

14 On the history of editions of the text: Giakoumis Konstantinos, "Glimpses from the Politics and Pragmatics of st. John Vladimir's Veneration and Pilgrimage in the Longue Dureé," in *International Scientific Conference Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of Slavs, Thessaloniki 2015* [*Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων, Ξεσσαλονίκη 2015*], ed. Antonios Emilios N. Tachiaos, pp. 133–134; Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, pp. 251–252.

15 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, pp. 238–84.

16 Ljubinković, "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari," p. 159.

17 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 260.

18 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 256.

19 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 265.

name, Symeon, which he adopted after his abdication; Kosma then associated this with the Tsar of Bulgaria, Simeon the Great. Such a family arrangement, although it was not mentioned by Kosma, was probably motivated by the desire to make Jovan Vladimir similar to Rastko Nemanjić (St. Sava), and the motif of forcing Jovan Vladimir to marry may even have been taken directly from biographies of Serbian saints.[20]

The motif of Vladimir's wife in the Greek biography was solved in a completely different way. The love story, one of the most important elements of the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, was replaced in the Greek text by the story of betrayal. The very name of Jovan Vladimir's wife, Dalida,[21] was an allusion to Delilah, the biblical Samson's love interest, and was intended to reveal the negative features of her character. Kosma wrote that Dalida was a daughter of Samuel[22] and a sister of Vladislav. Jealous of her husband, who showed no interest in her, she convinced his brother that he should get rid of him. The circumstances of the saint's death resemble to some extent an episode from *Regnum Sclavorum* which describes Vladislav's murder of his cousin Radomir during the hunt. According to the Greek hagiography, Vladislav, while travelling with Jovan Vladimir, attempted to kill him with his sword, but when that failed, he finally cut off his head with a weapon given to him by his brother-in-law.[23]

Kosma emphasized that both Vladislav and Dalida were supporters of heresies: the Bogomils and Messalians (Euchites).[24] The motif of Vladimir's fight with the Bogomils was completely omitted from the Latin legend of the saint. The shorter Greek hagiography of Vladimir written by Kosma publicized the actions of Jovan Vladimir against the apostates even more. It includes a rather enigmatic mention of the death of a saint who was beheaded when he was attacked by heretics and relatives.[25]

---

20 Although the motif of "resisting king" (*rex renitens*) is certainly common in such kind of stories (see: Weiler, *The Rex renitens*), and it can be referred to much broader scheme of a heroic story in general.

21 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 262.

22 Interestingly, the names of Samuel's brothers – David and Moses – are aptly given by Kosma (Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 261), which may prove that his narrative was based on some Ohrid sources.

23 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 262.

24 Dragoljub Dragojlović, "Dukljanski knez Vladimir i albanski Novatiani," *Istorijski zapisi* 1 (1975), vol. 32, pp. 93–104 – the author presents a controversial thesis that the motif of heresy and the death of Vladimir fighting against heretics could be based on actual events.

25 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 255.

A clearly-outlined cephalophoric motif appeared for the first time in *The Elbasan Legend*.[26] After his death, Jovan Vladimir carried his own head to Shën Gjon, the place that later became the centre of the saint's cult. Posthumous peregrination with his own severed head is a topos which is widespread in hagiographies, the most famous example of which is St. Dionysius' posthumous journey in the legend of founding the Abbey of Saint Denis. This type of image clearly referred to the history of St. John the Baptist and his beheading as a result of Herodias' plot.

According to Jaroslaw Dudek, it was the narrative's connotations that might have led to Vladimir being given a second name, which, thanks to a group of Greek texts, became popular in the saint's cult and historiography: "Probably due to this similarity to the fate of John the Baptist, *The Elbasan Legend* popularized the second name of the prince-martyr which is emphasized by the consistent use of the form 'John Vladimir' in various variants of the narrative".[27] Another view was expressed by Ljubinković, who believed that the church in Shën Gjon was originally dedicated to John the Baptist, and this fact could have influence Vladimir's cult and led to the saint being given an additional name.[28] The link between Jovan Vladimir and John the Baptist probably represented a whole network of interactions and semantic feedbacks. It is even possible that Vladimir's additional name was initially the result of contamination by legendary motifs, and that its origins should be associated with *Jovan* Vladislav, Vladimir's opponent and killer. It is important that the name "Jovan" in reference to Vladimir was not used in the text of *Regnum Sclavorum*, hence it can be concluded that the Priest of Duklja was not aware of those elements of the saint's cult that could clearly be associated with John the Baptist's fate.

It is quite likely that the text of *The Elbasan Legend* was based on an older text, but – as in the case of the Latin legend included in *Regnum Sclavorum* – we can only speculate about this, and our conjectures are fed by Kosma, who mentioned that his text was only a shortened extract of the information contained in some great book which he stated was already lost. He also informed

26 As was shown by Leśny, this motif was quite typical and could be taken from legends of Ivan Shishman of Bulgaria, Władysław III of Poland (Władysław of Varna) or Balaban Bey: Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 27, note 31; Jan Grzegorzewski, "Grób Warneńczyka," Kraków 1911, pp. 223–276. See: Izabela, "Motyw 'odciętej głowy' w literaturze cerkiewnosłowiańskiej," in: *Święci w kulturze i duchowości dawnej i współczesnej Europy*, eds. Wanda Stepniak-Minczewa, Zdzisław J. Kijas (Krakow, 1999), pp. 55–62.

27 Jarosław Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz (?–1016) w życiu i w religii. Niefortunny polityk i patron Serbów i Albańczyków," in *Gdzie jesteś człowieku? Funeralia lednickie – spotkanie 13*, eds. Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Jacek Wrzesiński (Poznań, 2011), p. 226.

28 Ljubinković, "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari," p. 158.

the readers that a better account of the life and miracles of the saint could be found in Serbian books.[29] In the very narrative of the hagiography there is a passage from which we can learn that the Greek text is only a translation from Bulgarian, and that some Bulgarian synaksarion would tell the whole story much more efficiently.[30] On this basis, Paisius of Hilendar believed that the Greek text "either was written later, after a long period of time, or some Serbian or Greek [copyist] distorted this biography".[31]

There is no reason to suppose that the old Slavic text mentioned by Kosma was identical to the description of the ruler's deeds contained in the work by the Priest of Duklja. Guessing from Vladimir's genealogy preserved in the Greek narrative, it can be presumed that the alleged Serbian or Bulgarian biography mentioned by Paisius of Hilendar was written in Ohrid, the centre with which Kosma was associated.

Jaroslaw Dudek presented another vision of the development of the biographical tradition. He linked the consecutive modifications to the written tradition of Vladimir with the hypothetical *translatio* of the saint's remains. Dudek referred to Konstantin Jireček's old concept, who claimed that Vladimir's body was transferred from Krajina, the burial place of Vladimir, as is mentioned in the Latin legend, to Dyrrachium, on the initiative of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, the ruler of Epirus. Jireček speculated that this happened after 1215.[32] According to Dudek, Vladimir's hypothetical hagiography – helpful in reviving the cult of the saint – was written soon after this event by one of the metropolitan bishops of Dyrrachium: Dokianos or Constantine Kabasilas.[33]

There are several arguments to support the assumption that the saint's grave was located for some time in Dyrrachium. The special bond between Vladimir

29 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 251.

30 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 251.

31 Paisij Chilendarski. *Słowianobułgarska historia*, ed. and trans. Franciszek Korwin-Szymanowski (Warsaw, 1981), p. 28; see: Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz," p. 227.

32 It is worth mentioning that the suggestions of Jireček were based on the work of Stojan Novaković, who in fact did not claim definitely that the corpse was taken from Krajina before 1215. In the nineteenth century Ivan Stepanovič Jastrebov – a Russian consul and amateur historian – informed that the remains of Vladimir were still in Krajina. He noted a legend supporting information provided by *Regnum Sclavorum* about the original place of burial of Vladimir in the St. Mary Church. Jastrebov claimed that at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the cross given by King Vladislav to Vladimir as a safety guarantee was still kept in the abovementioned church in the vicinity of Scodra. The Mrković family reportedly took the cross to the St. Trinity Church at Mt. Rumija. The credibility of this information was questioned by Mijušković: "it is actually too much translation to be believed, even if knowledge of these events was based on older and more reliable foundations" (Mijušković, *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, p. 61).

33 Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz," p. 230.

and this city is confirmed by the legend known from *Regnum Sclavorum*, while the fragment of the liturgical text attached to *The Elbasan Legend* contained a formula which is quite clear on this situation: "Today, the Triballian city of Dyrrachion, where your [i.e. Vladimir's] holy body rests, rejoices in faith".[34]

This leads us to question when the remains of Vladimir were transferred to Shën Gjon. There are many arguments that the tradition of the relics of Jovan Vladimir in Shën Gjon was known before 1381, although it is worth noting that the trilingual inscription of Karl Topia did not mention them. If the *translatio* really happened, the transfer of the saint's body from Dyrrachium to Shën Gjon seems much more probable than its previous translation from Krajina. Dudek believed that it could have taken place after the earthquake that affected Dyrrachium in 1271. He speculated that "the next versions of the saint's biography, the 'Serbian books' mentioned in Kosma' edition, could have been composed after this event".[35]

There are many indications, however, that Jovan Vladimir's body rested in Shën Gjon from the very beginning, or, to be precise, from the start of the establishment (renewal?) of Vladimir's cult. Although as claimed by Mijušković the name *Craini* or *Gazeni* from the Latin variant had to mean some place near the modern Elbasan, there are many indications that the reference to the mysterious Krajina was added to the text at a later date, perhaps at the same time that it was linked with *Regnum Sclavorum*.[36] The meaning of the toponym *Craini* in the Priest of Duklja's work is vague, and the localization of this place generally accepted in contemporary historiography was primarily influenced by local eighteenth-century legends, and secondarily inspired by the Priest of Duklja's text.

3 Vladimir or Ashot? Byzantine Accounts of Vladimir and Their Interpretation

The legend of Vladimir stands out from the other narratives of *Regnum Sclavorum*. It would be difficult to find another fragment in this work whose content would correspond so precisely to other independent accounts. This

34 Novaković, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti*, p. 274.

35 Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz," p. 228.

36 It is most commonly identified as Skadarska Krajina, although Ljubinka Basotova believed that the place could be located in Krani near Prespa: "Letopisot na popot Dukljanin kako izvor za makedonskata srednovekovna istorija," *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija* vol. 5 (Prilep, 1988), pp. 133–149. See: *Popa Dukljanina Sclavorum Regnum. Kritičko izdanje*, ed. Danilo Radojević (Cetinje, 2016), p. 18, note 33.

does not mean, however, that Vladimir's story can be regarded without reservation as a source for the history of the rulers of Duklja, Travunja or northern Albania in the eleventh century – the plot seems to be too distorted by hagiographic convention and the Priest of Duklja's own concepts. Nevertheless, a comparison of some of the permanent elements of the legend of Vladimir with the accounts of Byzantine historians, particularly John Skylitzes, brings interesting results, and sheds some light on the process of forming certain motifs in the legend.

In his *Synopsis Historion* (*Σύνοψις Ἱστοριῶν*), Skylitzes mentioned Vladimir twice.[37] The first reference was related to the planned military intervention of Emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos against Jovan Vladislav in 1015. The Greek chronicler wrote that while Triballia and the nearby parts of Serbia[38] were ruled by Vladimir, a son-in-law of Samuel[39] and a righteous, peaceful and virtuous man,[40] peace prevailed in Dyrrachium. The situation around the city changed when Vladimir gave himself up to Ioannes/Jovan (also called "Vladislav" in the same text). He believed the promises sent through David, the Archbishop of Bulgaria, and was soon killed by Jovan.[41]

Skylitzes mentioned Vladimir for the second time when he described how Jovan Vladislav's[42] wife was taken to Emperor Basil II, along with her six daughters and three sons, and accompanied by one illegitimate son of Samuel, and two daughters and five sons of Radomir, Samuel's son. According to the chronicle, one of Radomir's sons was blinded when Jovan killed Radomir, his wife and Vladimir, who was then presumably described as Samuel's son-in-law (*γαμβρός*).[43]

Skylitzes twice stressed the bond of affinity between Vladimir and Samuel (the first time using the ambiguous term *κηδεστής*[44]). Also, the course of events

37 On the image of the Southern Slavs in the work by John Skylitzes: Jan Bonarek, *Romajowie i obcy w kronice Jana Skylitzesa. Identyfikacja etniczna Bizantyńczyków i ich stosunek do obcych w świetle kroniki Jana Skylitzesa* (Toruń, 2003), pp. 165–171.

38 "Τρυβαλιας καί των άγχοτάτω Σερβίας μερών".

39 "Βλαδίμηρος ό επί θυγατρί του Σαμουήλ κηδεστής".

40 "ἀνήρ ἐπιεικής καί εἱρηνικὸς καί ἀρετῆς ἀντεχόμενος".

41 *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Hans Thurn, chapter 38, verses 59–74, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae vol. 5 (Berlin, 1973), pp. 353–354; the Serbian translation: *Vizantijski Izvori za Istoriju Naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. 3, eds. Jadran Ferluga, Georgije Ostrogorski et al. (Belgrade, 1966), pp. 117–118 [further abbreviated as: VINJ].

42 This time in the double-barrelled form: "Ἰωάννου τοῦ καί Βλαδισθλάβου".

43 *Synopsis Historiarum*, chapter 41, verses 19–36, p. 359; VINJ, vol. 3, p. 129.

44 See: Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 179, note 266 (error in printing Greek terms). Contrary to the opinion of Leśny both κηδεστής, and γαμβρός could refer to various forms of kinship – son-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law.

concluding with Vladimir's violent death shows considerable resemblance to information about the murder of the king provided in *Regnum Sclavorum*. In both cases Vladislav was the murderer, and in both cases Vladimir gave himself up voluntarily to his slayer. Skylitzes also confirmed, to a certain extent, information about the guarantees given by Vladislav, and even the detail regarding the participation of the Bulgarian archbishop in the negotiations. This last figure can perhaps be considered as the narrative equivalent of two bishops and a hermit who, according to the text in *Regnum Sclavorum*, brought Vladimir a wooden cross. Moreover, even the brief characteristics of Vladimir as a rightful and peaceful man, according to the work of Skylitzes, is surprisingly similar to the description given by the Priest of Duklja.

Jovan Vladislav's character in the *Synopsis Historion* also corresponds roughly to the description of Tsar Vladislav in *Regnum Sclavorum*. It is confirmed that Vladislav seized power in Prespa as a result of his relative's murder, which occurred during hunting.[45] Although in the text of the Latin legend Samuel's son was known only by his Slavic name, Radomir, and Skylitzes called him Gabriel Roman, this is probably the same figure.[46] The motif of murder while hunting and revenge taken by the saint against the cruel ruler entered – in various combinations – into the narrative circle of legends about Vladimir.[47] Its roots can also be found in Byzantine sources.

An interesting example of modifying similar legendary motifs, which were probably originally connected with the figure of Vladislav, appeared in *The Miracles of Saint Demetrius*[48] by John Staurakios from the twelfth or thirteenth century. The work presents Radomir (Ραδομίρος) as a wicked ruler and a cruel man. In other variants of the legend, he died during a hunt, but in Staurakios' version, the ruler was put to a deserved death by St. Demetrius, who appeared suddenly in the forest, on horseback and with a sword.[49] Thus, the figure of Radomir is similar to the two protagonists of *Regnum Sclavorum*: both to Vladislav, and to his uncle Radomir (according to the Priest of Duklja and John Skylitzes, Radomir was murdered by Vladislav).

45 *Synopsis Historiarum*, p. 353, verses 38–41; VINJ, v. 3, pp. 108–109.

46 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 181, notes 271, 272; Wincenty Swoboda, *Gabriel Radomir*, SSS, vol. 2, p. 77. See: Papageorgiou, *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias*, p. 242.

47 On popularity of the motif of death during hunting and the possible impact if this episode of the legend of Vladimir on later Serbian epic poetry: Danijela Popović, "Ubistvo u lovu, na vodi, u starijoj srpskoj književnoj tradiciji," *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 55 (2007), 3, pp. 469–477.

48 *Ιωάννου Σταυρακίου λόγος εις τα θαύματα του αγίου Δημητρίου*.

49 Jovan Stavrakije, *Čuda sv. Dimitrija Solunskog*, ed. Božidar Ferjančić, [in:] VIJN, v. 3, pp. 47–48.

The motif of a knight-avenger was also present in the Latin narrative about King Vladimir, and it is possible that in this case the two formerly separate narrative collections merged: one on the assassination of Radomir by Vladislav, and the other on the death of Vladislav who was killed by the angel Vladimir at Dyrrachium. Orbini does not mention the latter motif, which suggests that it could have been added later to the text. In fact, Vladimir's posthumous revenge has features which are typical of texts written later than in the eleventh century, and it is possible that the episode of Vladislav's death referred to some wandering legend, perhaps popular in the area of Dyrrachium.

The text by Skylitzes is even more difficult to interpret because of glosses added to it in the twelfth century by Michael of Devol. According to his interpolation, Jovan Vladislav died at the walls of Dyrrachium in unclear circumstances, when, during a skirmish with Niketas Pegonites, he was attacked by unidentified infantrymen.[50]

Scholars have also found a seemingly innocent word, *Θεοδωρίτου* (*Theoditou*), to be very confusing. Michael of Devol put it in the middle of the phrase "Samuel's daughter".[51] Božidar Prokić, the chronicle's publisher, identified the nominative form of the interpolated word as "Theodora". Skylitzes did not give the name of Vladimir's wife, and since Kosara – known only from the legend – did not appear in any other medieval source, historians accepted Prokić's hypothesis, that Theodora is a Greek equivalent of the name of Kosara.[52]

By analogy to the method of creating two-part names for Bulgarian rulers, it should be assumed in this case that the name Kosara was of Slavic origin, perhaps derived from the word *kosa* (hair), or was a variant of the name "Kosana" noted by eighteenth-century ethnographers.[53] On the other hand, there were hypotheses about the Roman etymology of this name.[54] On the similar premise, Nicolas Adontz associated the name of Kosara with the character of Cursilius, described in *Regnum Sclavorum* a bit later as the toparch of Dyrrachium. Adontz linked Vladimir's wife in the legend with the Chryselios, a family of local magnates, and more specifically – based on the aforementioned interpolation – with Theodor Chryselios, who according to him could have been the father of Kosara, whose name would then be the distorted version

50 *Synopsis Historiarum*, p. 357; VIJN vol. 3, p. 123.
51 "θυγατρίτου Σαμουήλ".
52 See: Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 145–147.
53 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 147.
54 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 179, note 264.

of the name Corsala (Chrysileia).[55] Adontz also claimed that in the passages discussing the death of the king and his conflict with Vladislav, the legend was based on information about real events, while the previous part, on the conflict with Samuel, was included in order to make Vladimir's connection with the city of Dyrrachium more probable.

The way in which the legend of Vladimir was shaped and filled with completely new content, can be illustrated with an example of the love motif. This was undoubtedly the most attractive theme in all of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Its implementation, at least in the fragments regarding Kosara's visit to the dungeon, demonstrates the evident attributes of a medieval romance.

A nearly identical story must have been in circulation in the Byzantine area in the eleventh century. As was noted by Prokić, and then repeated by Adontz, it can be found in a slightly modified form in the work by John Skylitzes, who passed on the narrative of another daughter of Tsar Samuel. The interpolation made by Michael of Devol suggest that her name was Miroslava. According to Skylitzes, she fell in love with Ashot, a son of Gregory Taronites, a Byzantine magnate of Armenian descent. Ashot was captured during one of the Tsar's campaigns. Miroslava's love for him was so strong that she threatened to kill herself if her father did not release her beloved and if he did not allow the couple to marry. Interestingly, her words as quoted by Skylitzes match Kosara's words, and are used in a similarly emotional tone while convincing Samuel to release Vladimir from prison: "Mi pater et domine, scio quia daturus es mihi virum sicuti moris est. Nunc ergo, si tuae placet magnitudini, aut des mihi virum Vladimirum regem, quem tenes in vinculis, aut scias, me prius morituram, quam alium accipiam virum" ("O, my father and my lord, I know that you are going to marry me off, in line with the custom. Now, therefore, according to the will of your majesty [say:] would you let me marry King Vladimir, who you keep in chains, for you should know that I would rather die than have another man for a husband").[56] In the work by Skylitzes, the story ends in quite a different way than it does in the work by the Priest of Duklja. After the wedding, Samuel sent Miroslava and Ashot to Dyrrachium, where his son-in-law was supposed to rule the city on behalf of the Tsar. However, Ashot

55 Nicolas Adontz, "Samuel l'Arménien roi des Bulgares," in idem, *Etudes Armeno-Byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965) [the first edition: Brussels, 1938], pp. 404–407. See also: Srđan Pirivatrić, "Emperor's Daughter in Love with Prisoner: Comparing the Stories of Scylitzes and Anonymus Presbyter Diocleae," in *Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West*, ed. Erika Juhász (Budapest, 2013), pp. 278–283.

56 *Ljetopis*, pp. 80–81.

betrayed his father-in-law, and persuaded his wife to flee with him to the side of the Byzantine Greeks.[57]

Jadran Ferluga presented another hypothesis concerning Vladimir and Kosara. He attempted to identify the historical roots of the love motif in a certain episode of 1072 noted by an anonymous continuator of Skylitzes. The struggle between the self-proclaimed Tsar Constantine Bodin and the Byzantine army was ended by the wedding of the Byzantine commander Longibardopoulos with Bodin's unnamed sister. As a result, peace was made, and the newlywed commander switched allegiance to his brother-in-law.[58] It seems, however, that this hypothesis requires a large dose of imagination, and that the similarity between the motifs found in the work by Skylitzes' continuator and in *Regnum Sclavorum* is too superficial to find any closer connection between these two stories.

It may be impossible to identify the historical sources for the love motif, because it is likely that from the beginning it was a narrative splice, in which fragments of other stories can be recognized. The case of Ashot and Miroslava, as well as that of Vladimir and Kosara, should be treated as variants of one narrative scheme. There is little evidence that the Priest of Duklja was familiar with Skylitzes' work (and even less can be said about the use of this work by the author of Vladimir's hypothetical hagiography). It is not surprising that *Regnum Sclavorum* and *Synopsis Historion* presented the development of the romantic relationships in different ways, for the author of each work adopted totally diverse narrative conventions. It seems valid, however, that the similarity between these two accounts is, to a certain degree, the effect of a historical foundation for the described events, and of a similar cultural milieu – textual, or related to oral transmission – in which a specific pattern of implementation of these types of stories was widespread.

The subsequent popularity of this pattern in the Latin world indirectly confirms its enormous semantic capacity. Some literary scholars were even inclined to see the story of Vladmir and Kosara as an indirect inspiration for some motifs in *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare.[59]

---

57 *Synopsis Historiarum*, pp. 342–343; VINJ, pp. 91–92.

58 Jadran Ferluga, "Die Chronik des Priesters von Diokleia als Quelle für byzantinische Geschichte," *Byzantina* 10 (1980), pp. 429–460.

59 Through the work of Antonio de Eslava, see: Henri Grégoire, "The Bulgarian Origins of 'The Tempest' of Shakespeare," *Studies in Philology* 2 (1940), vol. 37, pp. 236–256. Some scholars claim that the trace of the legend of Vladimir and Kosara can already be found in the adventures of Florimont, the protagonist of the French romance by Aimon de Varennes. It tells a story about love of Florimont, a son of Mataquas, the duke (*duc*) of Albania, and princess Romadanaple, a daughter of the hostile Hungarian King Candiobras (or

The very scheme of a legend of a prisoner and a female aristocrat who fall in love seems to be a modification of the biblical motif of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (anonymous in the Old Testament, called Zuleikha in the Talmudic tradition). The motif of the Egyptian woman's love for Joseph, her husband's slave, was popular and often used in Greek literature from the eleventh century. At the same time, the local tradition associated with the figure of Joseph developed in the literature of neighbouring countries.[60] It was preserved independently in texts from the territories of Croatia[61] and Serbia;[62] the oldest surviving works are dated back to the end of the fourteenth century. The number of references to this Old Testament figure may suggest that the motif appeared in this area much earlier.

A special focus on the love motif was a typical feature of a large group of medieval texts devoted to Joseph. The affection of Potiphar's wife often resembled the longing known from romances, with Joseph symbolizing an inaccessible man.[63] His pursuit of purity harmonized with the topics characteristic of medieval hagiographies – *The Life of Moses the Hungarian*[64] is an example of a hybrid of both tendencies in Slavic literature. The features of a literary portrait of Joseph were well reflected in the formulaic phrase *prekrasni Josip* (beautiful Joseph), preserved in early-modern Croatian literature.

Traces of a similar method of imaging can be found in *Regnum Sclavorum*. The best example is the description of Vladimir when Kosara first saw him in prison: "Inter haec cernens Vladimirum et videns quod esset pulcher in aspectu, humilis, mansuetus atque modestus et quod esset repletus sapientia et prudentia domini, morata locuta est cum illo. Videbatur namque ei loquella illius dulcis super mel et favum. Igitur non causa libidinis, sed

Philip of Macedonia). Nevertheless, ideas explaining the name Florimont ("flower of the world") in reference to the figure of Vladimir ("mir" – world, "flurit" – blessed) can be categorized as curiosities. See: Petar Ušković, "Kralj Vladimir kao književni motiv u hrvatskoj latinističkoj tradiciji," in *Pavao Ritter Vitezović i njegovo doba (1652–1713)*, Alojz Jembrih, Ivana Jukić (Zagreb, 2016), pp. 166; Hristo Melovski, "Prološko žitije Sv. Jovana Vladimira," in *Dukljanski knez Sveti Vladimir (970–1016). 1000 godina crnogorske državotvornosti*, ed. Sreten Perović (Podgorica, 2016), p. 72.

60 Kamila Lucerna, "Građa za studiju o apokrifu: 'Život i ispovijedanje Asenete, kćeri Pentefrijeve, koju je uzeo prekrasni Josip za ženu'," *Rad JAZU* 224 (1921), p. 169; Josip Bratulić, "Apokrif o Prekrasnom Josipu u hrvatskoj srednjovjekovnoj književnosti," *Radovi Staroslovenskog instituta* 7 (1972), pp. 34–39.

61 Bratulić, "Apokrif o Prekrasnom Josipu," pp. 39–40.

62 Stojan Novaković, "Srpskoslovenski zbornik iz vremena despota Stefana Lazarevića," *Starine* 9 (1877), pp. 1–47.

63 See: Bratulić, "Apokrif o Prekrasnom Josipu," p. 45.

64 *Polikarpa mnicha kijowskich pieczar Żywot Mojżesza Węgrzyna*, ed. Emil Kałużniacki, MPH vol. 4 (Lviv, 1884), pp. 797–817.

quia condoluit iuventuti et pulchritudini illius et quoniam audiret eum esse regem et ex regali prosapia ortum, dilexit eum et salutato eo recessit" (Noticing Vladimir and seeing that he is beautiful in appearance, humble, gentle and modest, as well as full of Divine wisdom and knowledge, she got into conversation with him. His speech seemed to her more pleasing and sweeter than honey. Therefore, not because of lustful passion, but because she felt sorry for him [because of] his youth and beauty, and because she heard that he was a king and came from a royal family, she fell in love with him, and then she said goodbye and left).[65]

The motif of Potiphar's wife as such would not be the most adequate point of reference for Vladimir and Kosara's story. Some recurrent narrative elements are mixed up in both stories, and the scheme would require additions, so that their similarities cannot be considered to be accidental. There is one more biblical motif related to Joseph which runs parallel to the motif of Potiphar's wife: that of his relationship with Asenath, his future wife. According to The Book of Genesis,[66] she was the daughter of Potipherah, a priest of the town of On. Because of the striking similarity between the names "Potipherah" and "Potiphar" (Joseph's owner when he was a slave), many medieval and early modern texts mention them as if they referred to one and the same character. In such accounts, Joseph married his master's daughter immediately after being liberated from the dungeon. Certain Old-Croatian texts claimed that the wedding was ordered by Pharaoh and Joseph was brought straight from prison to marry Potipherah's daughter.[67] In this way, the motif of slavery, impulsive love for a beautiful young man, sudden release, and marriage to the daughter of a former oppressor, was permanently in the semantic circle of narratives related to the figure of Joseph, and as a result it could have developed into a new narrative variant representing the stories of Ashot and Miroslava and the legend of Vladimir and Kosara.

4 Elements of the Hagiographical Topics in the Legend of King Vladimir

The motif of King Vladimir stands out from the overall narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* so distinctly that we can treat it as a separate unit, whether we try to see it as the original form of the hypothetical hagiography of St. Vladimir,

65 *Ljetopis*, p. 80.
66 Gen 41:45.
67 Bratulić, "Apokrif o Prekrasnom Josipu," p. 45.

or whether we accept the possibility of significant interference by the Priest of Duklja in the earlier text. The broader narrative context brings out motifs which are relevant to the overall image of the dynasty and its power but meanwhile, narrowing the view, we should distinguish those features of *vita* or *passio Vladimiri* which belonged to the characteristic topoi associated with the hagiographies and stories of saints in the Middle Ages.

For Christians, Jesus was the first and foremost model. The life of the future saint had to relate strictly to the life and deeds of Christ. The element of *imitatio* was also an important component in legends of martyrs, with the description of the Christ's Passion as the basic model. In the narrative construction itself, in the literary layer of the text available to us, and in the details of the description of King Vladimir's behaviour, one can easily see elements of such an imitation.[68]

They clearly marked Vladimir's attitude towards foreign aggression. The value of the royal sacrifice was emphasized in the Priest of Duklja's narrative.[69] Vladimir did not organize armed resistance to external interventions. However, he was always ready to care for the kingdom and save his subjects, or *sua gens* (his people), as they were called in the text. Vladimir behaved in this way when his land was invaded by the Bulgarian Tsar Samuel. The Priest of Duklja justified the royal behaviour with the desire to save the lives of his subjects from an unnecessary battle: "Rex vero, qui vir sanctus erat et nolebat aliquem de suis perire in bello, secessit humiliter et ascendit in montem, qui Obliquus dicitur, cum omni gente sua" (The king, being a saintly man, did not want any of his entourage to perish in the war, and humbly retreated with all his army to the mountain called Obliquus).[70] In this bloodless way, Vladimir managed to save his people, and when the fiery serpents ("igniti serpentes") started to threaten them on the mountain, the king prayed to God to save those who had assembled with him: "(…) rex Vladimirus orationem fudit ad dominum cum lacrimis, ut deus omnipotens liberaret populum suum ab illa pestifera morte" (King Vladimir, in tears, addressed a prayer to the Lord that the almighty God would deliver his people from such an abominable death). The legend combines the motif of the ruler's *humilitas* with the topos of a good shepherd. Also, the conflict with Vladislav was solved when the ruler sacrificed himself, drawing the invaders' attention away from his subjects.

68 Trajković-Filipović, *Saint Vladimir of Zeta*, pp. 27–35.

69 A "victimologist" analysis of the legend was presented by: Jelka Ređep, "O ubistvu dukljanskog kneza Vladimira," in eadem, *Ubistvo vladara. Studije i ogledi* (Novi Sad, 1998), pp. 311–319.

70 *Ljetopis*, pp. 78–79.

Ingham divided the Vladimir-related narrative of the Priest of Duklja into five main parts: (1) the siege of Mt. Oblik (Obliquus)[71] and Vladimir's exile; (2) Vladimir's imprisonment by Samuel and his marriage to Kosara; (3) the ruler's invitation to Prespa; (4) Vladimir's assassination followed by the transfer of his body; and (5) revenge on the king's murderer. Ingham noted that the doubled motif of the king's trial (Vladimir is tried twice: by Samuel and by Vladislav) was intended to bring associations with the Passion of Christ.[72]

Another reference to the Passion was the motif of Vladimir's betrayal by a local župan, who offered to give the king away to the Bulgarian Tsar. The author of the text compared this infidelity to the treacherous deed of Judas ("Iudae traditori similis effectus"). Like Jesus in the Gospel, Vladimir, learning of this betrayal, gathered the people and voluntarily offered himself to Samuel: "Tunc rex congregatis omnibus qui cum eo erant, taliter eis locutus est: 'Oportet me, fratres carissimi, ut video adimplere illud evangelii versiculum, ubi dicitur: *Bonus pastor animan suam ponit pro ovibus suis*. Melius est ergo, fratres, ut ego ponam animan meam pro omnibus vobis et tradam corpus meum sponte ad trucidandum seu occidendum, quam ut vos periclitemini fame sive gladio'" (The king, having gathered all those who were with him, said to them: "As I see, my beloved brothers, I should follow this passage of the Gospel, which says: *A good shepherd gives his soul for his sheep*. Therefore, it will be better if I give up my soul for you and willingly give my body to torment and death, than let me expose you to suffering and the sword").[73]

Some details of the narrative about Vladimir's reaction to the threat posed by Vladislav also referred to the symbolism of the Passion. The cross – given to the king by the perfidious ruler of the Bulgarians as a guarantee of safety at his court – was an item imbued with profound symbolism. Vladislav first sent Vladimir a gold cross. However, the object was too luxurious and suggested that Vladislav had impure intentions. His envoy was sent away and Vladimir's parting words were as follows: "Scimus, quod dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui pro nobis passus est, non in aurea vel argentea cruce suspensus est, sed in lignea; ergo, si vera est fides tua et verba tua vera sunt, per manus religiosorum hominum crucem ligneam mitte mihi, et fide et virtute domini nostri Jesu Christi spem habendo in vivificam crucem ac pretiosum lignum, veniam" (We know that our Lord Jesus Christ, who suffered for us, was not crucified on a gold or silver cross, but on a wooden one. So if your faith is sincere and if your words are true, send me a wooden cross by the hands of pious people, so that I can come, trusting the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, and relying on

71 Šišić identified Obliquus as the mountain Tarabosh: *Letopis*, pp. 455–456.

72 Ingham, "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir of Dioclea," p. 205.

73 *Ljetopis*, p. 79.

this life-giving cross and the precious tree).[74] A wooden cross, delivered by two bishops and a hermit, was placed by Vladimir on his chest, further multiplying the already clear motifs of the Passion. Through this analogy, Vladimir's journey to Vladislav's court in Prespa resembled the Stations of the Cross.

The description of the king's death was also modelled after the Passion of Christ in the narrative. Upon arriving in Prespa, Vladimir began to pray and did not stop, even when he saw the soldiers approaching. Once he was surrounded, he turned to the bishops and the hermits who unwittingly offered him empty promises, and said: "Quid est domini mei? Quid egistis? Quare me sic decepistis? Cur verbis et iuramentis vestris credens sine culpa morior?" (What is going on, my lords? What have you done? Why have you betrayed me? Why am I dying, innocent and trusting your word?).[75] However, Vladimir managed to forgive his involuntary traitors before he died and asked them to pray. In his last words he emphasized his innocence: "absque culpa morior" (I am dying without guilt).

Characteristically, despite the sudden turn of events, Vladimir managed to prepare himself for death: "Tunc rex facta oratione et confessione, accepto corpore et sanguine domini (…)" (Then the king after prayer and confession, accepted the body and blood of the Lord). This mention of communion *sub utraque specie* was omitted in Orbini's translation, who probably recognized this type of Eucharist as incompatible with the code of the Catholic Church. Although Leśny saw the description as evidence of an everyday practice at the time of the author of the legend,[76] it was rather an attempt of the Priest of Duklja to strengthen the analogy between Vladimir and Christ by referring to the Last Supper.

In medieval hagiographic works, as in the biblical description of the Passion, the tragic circumstances of death, its violence and the motif of unexpected betrayal were combined with the commonly accepted belief in the irreversibility of destiny.[77] The conviction that martyrdom is inevitable was also present in the narrative about Vladimir. The king learned of his destiny via a supernatural vision during the prayer in Emperor Samuel's dungeon: "Apparuit ei in visione angelus domini confortans eum et nuncians ei ea, quae ventura erunt, quomodo eum deus liberaret de ipso carcere et quomodo per martirium perveniret ad regna coelorum et acciperet immarcescibilem coronam et praemia vitae aeternae" (The angels of the Lord appeared to him, comforting and

74 *Ljetopis*, p. 82.
75 *Ljetopis*, p. 83.
76 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, pp. 181–182, note 279.
77 Trajković-Filipović, *Saint Vladimir of Zeta*, pp. 28–29.

preaching what was about to happen: that God would free him from prison and that by martyrdom he would be taken to the kingdom of heaven, crowned with a crown that never withers, and [given] the reward of eternal life).[78]

Supernatural elements, so unusual for the style of the Priest of Duklja, appeared in the passage devoted to Vladimir several times, which speaks in favour of the thesis about the separate character of this narrative. Descriptions of miracles and the extraordinary achievements of a saint belong rather to the hagiographic topoi than to the set of images used in other parts of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Miraculous events that marked Vladimir's life were to prove his special relationship with God. Providence watched over him on the way to Prespa as he passed the ambush which had been set by robbers hired by Vladislav. In the narrative, the angels appeared again and scared the people who were lying in wait for the king. As the author of the text stated: "Deus autem omnipotens, qui ab infantia custodivit famulum suum, noluit extra homines dormitation accipere" (But God Almighty, who watches over his servant from childhood, did not want to leave him in need),[79] emphasizing the special place of Vladimir in the divine plan, an expression that Mošin associated with the verse of Psalm 121: "ecce non dormitabit neque dormiet qui custodit Israhel" (Behold, he who keeps Israel will neither slumber nor sleep).[80]

Repelling fiery serpents, which began to harass the people gathered next to the King on Mt. Obliquus was the greatest of Vladimir's miraculous deeds mentioned in *Regnum Sclavorum*. The act of chasing vipers away was a fairly frequent hagiographic motif,[81] mainly related to fragments of the Gospel of St. Mark (16:18) and St. Luke (10:19), in which the apostles were prophesied to gain the power of treading on serpents and scorpions, and have resistance to their venom.[82] In Dalmatia, elements of local legends could also be involved, as is evidenced by the presence of a similar motifs in the legend of the arrival of St. Paul to the island of Mljet, noted in the nineteenth century by Vuk Karadžić.[83]

The saint's struggle with serpents can be seen as an implementation of the scheme of the mythical fight of good and evil, symbolized here by the reptile or dragon; hence the story of defeating fiery serpents on the Mt. Obliquus

78 *Ljetopis*, p. 80.
79 *Ljetopis*, pp. 82–3.
80 Ps 121:4.
81 Jovan Kovačević, *Istorija Crne Gore*, p. 422.
82 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 178–179, note 126.
83 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, pp. 178–179.

("Slanting") could be a narrative motif which was much older than the account of King Vladimir's struggle with Tsar Samuel.[84]

Descriptions of miracles performed posthumously by the hero was a fairly frequent motif in medieval hagiographies. At night, after Vladimir's death, Vladislav was so scared by the appearance of a divine light that he let Kosara transfer her husband's body to the place she had chosen. In this way, the author of the legend "located" the centre of the martyr's cult in St. Mary's Church in Krajina, where, it was emphasized, Vladimir's court (*curia*) had been previously situated. The same church, according to the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, was the burial place of Vladimir's father, Petrislav [11].[85] This may indicate that, as was already mentioned, the fragment referring to Vladimir's father was the prologue in the hypothetical older source used by the Priest of Duklja. It is also probable that the later compiler attempted to heighten Krajina's role. There is no precise information about the location of this church in the text, so it is difficult to say where, according to the author (or the authors) of the text, the most important centre of Vladimir's cult was really situated.[86]

In accordance with the topoi known from other hagiographies, St. Mary's Church in Krajina gained a special significance in the narrative. On the day of Vladimir's feast – that is, probably, on May 22, which was the date of his death recorded in the legend – a crowd of worshippers would gather in the temple. It was said that the saint's remains, kept in the church, did not rot, and even had a pleasant odour, which is typical of hagiographies. As the author described in detail: "Iacet corpus eius integrum et redolet quasi pluribus conditum aromatibus et crucem illam, quam ab imperatore accepit, manu tenet" (his body rests there intact, secreting a smell as if anointed with various scents and fragrances, and holding a cross in his hand).[87]

---

84 On the hypothetic ur-myth of the hero-thunderer and the snake – the legend being a probable foundation of Slavic mythology – and on its appropriation by Christian hagiographies and folk tales about saints, see: Czesław Deptuła, *Archanioł i Smok. Z zagadnień legendy miejsca i mitu początku w Polsce średniowiecznej* (Lublin, 2003); Boris Uspieński, *Kult św. Mikołaja na Rusi* (Lublin, 1985), pp. 57–74.

85 Although in this case of location of the St. Mary Church, the used name is Gazeni, instead of Craini.

86 In Montenegrin historiography it is believed that the place could be identified as Ostros near the city of Bar. On local account functioning in the modern times and probably inspired by the literary tradition, see: Leśny, "Bogorodica Krajinska," SSS vol. 7, part 2, pp. 499–500.

87 *Ljetopis*, p. 84. As has already been mentioned, the cross is associated with Montenegrin legends. Its replica has been preserved since the early modern period, yet it seems that continuity of this tradition from older times cannot be confirmed.

When the king was alive, the unique bond between Vladimir and Kosara was expressed primarily by her willingness to sacrifice and by the pursuit of holiness shared by both spouses. After Vladimir's death, it was manifested by Kosara's special role, who became the guardian of her deceased husband's cult. She became a nun (*sanctimonialis effecta*), which may suggest the establishment (or previous presence) of a convent in Krajina. After her death, she was buried in the same church, yet not at the side but at the feet of her spouse. This configuration emphasized that it was the burial of a disciple of the saint[88] rather than that of a royal consort.

The last of Vladimir's acts described in *Regnum Sclavorum* was his posthumous revenge on his murderer, Vladislav. According to the Priest of Duklja's narrative, an armed figure with the face of the murdered king suddenly appeared at Dyrrachium where the Tsar feasted.[89] The avenger was probably an emanation of the saint, although another part of the text claims that the one who dealt Vladislav the fatal blow was an angel.[90] The evil Tsar himself turned into an evil angel (*angelus satanae*). The episode of vengeance was not included in Orbini's translation, and there are many indications to supporting the hypothesis of the later formation of this motif.

The episode in which Vladimir took his revenge on Vladislav did not match the rest of the story. The king-martyr, who avoided fighting throughout his life, changed into an armoured king-avenger and executor of God's justice after his death. Here, St. Vladimir would resemble St. Demetrius, the evil king Radomir's assassin, from the work by John Staurakios. We do not know, however, whether the original motive for the armed figure's deed was revenge, or care for his own subjects. The latter would be in accordance with the message of the entire story of Vladimir's life. The circumstances in which the supernatural intervention took place were, after all, special. Vladislav was killed during the siege of Dyrrachium, the city that was guarded by King Vladimir during his lifetime. Perhaps the saint's actions should be explained by his desire to protect the residents of the city, rather than by the need to do justice to the Bulgarian Tsar.

88 The *topoi* of female disciples of the saint known from medieval hagiographies originate from the Gospels mentioning numerous female supporters and companions of Jesus (among them, the special position is held by Mary and Mary Magdalene). The motif of matrimonial "purity" of the saint could give rise to the model of a "temperate" king along with the popularity of Cluny-related ideas in the eleventh century, see: Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, 1993,) pp. 94–131.

89 "Manens itaque ante Durachium, quadam die dum coenaret et epularetur, subito apparuit ei miles armatus in effigie sancti Vladimiri", *Ljetopis*, p. 84.

90 "Statimque percussus ab angelo corruit in terram et mortuus est corpore et anima", *Ljetopis*, p. 84.

Analysing this fragment of the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*, Marjanović-Dušanić noted that it could illustrate the transformation of the model of a holy ruler and be a trace of modification of the traditions of the saint: "Comparative analysis of similar cults of martyrs shows that the transformation of the cult of ruler-martyrs into the cult of ruler-avengers took place in the twelfth century (…)". She suggested the possibility that "the figure of Vladimir as a saint in this period was modified to adjust to the new tendencies of the development of the cults of holy kings".[91]

5 Vladimir as an Example of a King-Martyr: the Context of the Peripheries

The legend of King Vladimir belonged to a specific category of hagiographic tales. The story of the saint was inseparable from the story of the ruler. In the Latin text included in the narration of *Regnum Sclavorum*, the *vita* convention merged with the secular tale of the king's deeds, and this type of characteristic was fairly typical in the Middle Ages.

Some scholars were inclined to link the figure of Vladimir with the dynastic cycle of the Serbian Nemanjić family. In this view, the fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum* would be the first example of presenting the ideal of the martyrdom of a ruler in the literature of the region, closely related to the images of Lazar Hrebeljanović or Stefan Dečanski.[92] However, analysis of the phenomena related to the cult of the Nemanjić dynasty shows that examples of ruler-martyrs are found in that circle much later, and that they were conditioned by a different political and social situation.

The image of Serbian ruler-martyrs was formed only in the Late Middle Ages, probably in the circumstances of a direct threat of a Turkish invasion. The image of Stefan Dečanski as a martyr was not known before 1402 when his hagiography was composed by Gregory Tsamblak.[93] In the same period, the first motifs regarding the martyrdom of Prince Lazar were also formed within the circle of themes related to the battle of Kosovo. Marjanović-Dušanić proved that the latter phenomenon was deeply embedded in the chivalric ethos, and the motif of defending Christianity against the Turkish threat played a major role in it. New elements of the dynastic program of the Serbian rulers in the Late Middle Ages were also associated with a specific type of genealogy

91 Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, p. 96.

92 Izabela Lis, *Śmierć w literaturze staroserbskiej* (*XIIXIV wiek*) (Poznań, 2003), p. 61.

93 Dimitrije Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* (Belgrade, 1980), pp. 205–207.

and annals that appeared in the Balkans. From the second half of the fourteenth century, they gave a new direction to the Serbian dynastic program.[94] Indeed, *The Elbasan Legend* (and after that traces of it in the Serbian clergy's scriptures) evidently identified the figure of Jovan Vladimir with the *sveta loza* (holy branch) of the Nemanjić family, but this happened relatively late. On the basis of information provided by the Latin legend, we can conclude that the early cult of King Vladimir had little in common with the late-medieval phenomenon of the Serbian ruler-martyrs.[95]

Đorđe Sp. Radojičić analysed the legend of Vladimir and Kosara in the context of eleventh-century Latin literature. He believed that the author of the legend was well-acquainted with both the tradition of Western European hagiographies, and heroic poems popularizing the seeds of chivalric culture. The Priest of Duklja's erudition was reflected in the peculiar dissection of Vladimir's story in which hagiographic and romance motifs were merged.[96] The work, as was already mentioned, used topoi known from the Latin *vitae*. Similarly, the motif of a king dying *pro patria et gente propria* was an integral part of the image of a medieval ruler in the Western world. However, there were numerous associated phenomena with different chronologies and origins, and some focus should be placed upon these.[97]

The type of ruler-martyr should be placed in the broader context of the holy kings of the Christian Middle Ages. There were probably three sources of the belief that rulers belonged to sacred spheres: (1) charismatic leaders of barbarian pagan communities;[98] (2) worship of Roman emperors in antiquity; and (3) patterns of behaviour spread by the cult of Christian saints.[99]

---

94 Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, "Patterns of Martyrial Sanctity in the Royal Ideology of Medieval Serbia. Continuity and Change," *Balcanica* 37 (2007), p. 78.

95 Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, p. 94.

96 Đorđe Spiridon Radojičić, "*Un Poeme* epique yougoslave du XI^e siecle: Les Gesta ou exploits de Vladimir, prince de Dioclée," *Byzantion* 35 (1965), pp. 528–35; idem, "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari – njeni vidovi od IX do XIX veka," *Bagdala*, 96–97 (1967). On the other hand, the idea of Đorđe Đekić, who claimed that he found traces of the legend of Vladimir in French romances, seems completely erroneous. Đekić referred to his own work, which – as far as we know – has not yet been published: Đorđe Đekić, "Geste or Jovan Vladimir's Biography," *Facta Universitatis. Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History* 2 (2013), v. 12, p. 188.

97 Ernst Kantorowicz, "Pro patria mori in Medieval Political Thought," *The American Historical Review*, 3 (1951), vol. 56, pp. 472–492.

98 See: Hauck, *Herrschaftszeichen eines Wodanischen Königtums*.

99 Gábor Klaniczay, "The Paradoxes of Royal Sainthood as Illustrated by Central European Example," in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (London, 1993), pp. 251–274; idem, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, p. 63; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, pp. 22–23; Trajković-Filipović, *Saint Vladimir of Zeta*, pp. 8–16.

The earliest examples of holy rulers in the Western world can be found in the Merovingian dynasty. The phenomenon of charismatic king-miracle-workers was probably much more closely connected to the old traditional conviction shared by the Germanic peoples of the chieftains' supernatural powers, rather than with the impact of the Christian cult of saints. Nevertheless, according to František Graus, the holiness and martyr-features of particular rulers from the Merovingian dynasty were very personalized and more closely related to the circumstances of their death or relinquishing monarchical authority than to their royal rank.[100]

The legend of King Vladimir corresponded to a special modification of the image of a holy ruler: that of *rex martyr* (king-martyr), that dominated in some areas of the Latin world in the eleventh century. In this variant, the image of an ideal leader was closely related to imitation of the Passion of Christ, hence the martyrdom or violent circumstances of a king's death were primarily seen through a sacrificial perspective. In this way, king-martyrs represented a vision of power in which a ruler was ready to sacrifice himself for the benefit of the subjects. His sacrifice would be significant for his community by redefining it, just like the death of Christ was crucial for the preservation of the New Covenant.

The first example of the new type of king was presumably Edmund, the King of East Anglia.[101] The image of this ruler as a martyr was established by Abbo of Fleury, who in his *Passio sancti Edmundi regis et martyris* written between 985 and 987 stylized the death of the king on the likeness of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, at the same time emphasizing the motif of the voluntary imitation of Christ. Edmund made a conscious choice and gave up fighting the Danes, accepting the necessity of his sacrifice. In this presentation, the transformation of the meaning of some motifs is noticeable: the violent death of the ruler was no longer a personal tragedy, and it gained more aspects than simply the heroic dedication of one's life in combat against pagans. It became part of a conscious choice, including the program of the king's holiness.

According to Norman Ingham, who compared literary representations of medieval *reges martyres*, the example of King Edmund was not yet fully representative. Ingham observed that "a certain ambivalence remains about Edmund's motives. He knows that militarily his position is hopeless; if he

100 Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reiche der Merowingen*, pp. 313–432; Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, pp. 23–24.

101 On the formation of royal cults in Anglo-Saxon communities on the British Isles: Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England. A study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 18n, on the cult of Edmund: pp. 211–233; Michael Evans, *The Death of Kings. Royal Deaths in Medieval England* (London/New York, 2003), pp. 175–206.

had the men he obviously would prefer to fight".[102] Ingham believed that the model of a king-martyr developed only later, on the peripheries of Christian Europe, first in Scandinavia and then in Slavdom.[103] He decided not to present possible routes of transmission for the pattern, and chose not to hypothesize about its origin in particular areas, but did not explicitly reject the possibility that the model emerging in the British Isles could have been adopted locally in Scandinavia and then in the Slavic lands.

The legend of King Vladimir may be another indication that this model had spread to the peripheries of the Latin world. Although Ingham saw this figure as a manifestation of an "isolated branch", or rather as a "separate phenomenon"[104] among the accounts of kings-martyrs, he found the narrative similarity of these legends interesting. Due to the analogies in the narrative, the legend of Vladimir can be juxtaposed with the narratives shaped in Bohemia and Ruthenia, although examples of the cults of Olaf Haraldsson, Canute IV and Magnus Erlendsson[105] clearly show that the possible Slavic cultural substrate was a much smaller formative factor than the influence of a specific political and cultural ferment in these newly Christianized lands. The cults of *reges martyres* on the peripheries of Latin ecumene were inseparably connected with the process of the formation of new dynasties. In Poland and Hungary, cults did not develop around murdered members of ruling families, yet even there, martyrdom-related motifs did penetrate official dynastic narratives due to St. Adalbert of Prague and St. Gerard of Csanád (also known as St. Gellért).

The first hagiographies of St. Wenceslaus (Václav) probably had a direct impact on the development of South Slavic literature.[106] Joanna Nastalska-Wiśnicka suggested that *The First Slavic Legend of St. Wenceslaus*, possibly written in the Glagolitic script, was known in this part of the Balkans in the tenth or eleventh century. Several Glagolitic copies of this work have survived

102 Ingham, "The Sovereign as Martyr, East and West," p. 5. Ingham also referred to the Anglo-Saxon narration of Ælfric based on the text of Abbo of Fleury, although he thought it was written a hundred years later.

103 See: Ingham, "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1984), pp. 31–53.

104 Ingham, "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir," p. 214.

105 Ingham, "Sovereign as Martyr," pp. 6–7.

106 Třeštík in one of his early works accepted the Southern Slavic origins of *The First Slavic legend of St. Wenceslaus* and claimed that its author had to know documents of the Synod in Split of 925 – and one of these same documents could be a presumed source of the Dalmatian legend of Svetopelek: Dušan Třeštík, "Miscellanea k I. staroslovanské legendě o sv. Václavu: 'Každý, kdo povstává proti pánu svému, podoben jest Jidáší'," *Československý časopis historický* 15 (1967), pp. 337–343.

to today, but they only date back to the turn of the fourteenth century. Nastalska-Wiśnicka did not specify which Southern Slavic lands might have been influenced by the Czech narrative. Although the hypothetical legend of King Vladimir could have originally been written in the Slavic language, in this case Cyrillic script would probably have been used. Duklja was also far from the Glagolitic centres, so it is doubtful whether in this situation any variant of the legend of St. Wenceslaus could have influenced the legend of King Vladimir, even indirectly.

In the narrative aspect, the legends of kings Wenceslaus and Vladimir (and to a certain extent also the legends about the Ruthenian *strastoterpetsi*, "passion bearers", Boris and Gleb) have many common elements.[107] Hagiography played a special role in these narratives, and the use of a set of topoi drawn from the repertoire of hagiographies at the same time served to build a specific image of the community leader.[108]

The motif of *puer senex* had already been used in the first depiction of Vladimir given in *Regnum Sclavorum*:[109] "Puer autem Vladimirus, accepto regno, crescebat decoratus omni sapientia et sanctitate" (The boy named Vladimir took over the kingdom, and became blessed with all wisdom and piety).[110] Similar features were attributed to Wenceslaus in some of his hagiographies: *The First Slavic legend* from the mid-tenth century described him learning to read in Slavic and Latin from an early age.[111] In addition, other texts dating back to the tenth and eleventh centuries, and forming part of the legend of the duke, mention his learning to read Latin as a remarkable detail of Wenceslaus' youth.[112]

---

107 Norman W. Ingham, "Genre Characteristics of the Kievan Lives of Princes in the Slavic and East European Perspective," in *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists* vol. 2, ed. Paul Debreczeny (Columbus, 1983), pp. 223–239.

108 On Wenceslaus as an ideal Christian ruler: Agnieszka Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, *Święty i historia. Dynastia Przemyślidów w dziele mnicha Krystiana* (Krakow, 2007), pp. 161–208.

109 Although Stanislaus Hafner considered such an introduction as typical to medieval hagiographies (Hafner, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (Munich, 1964), s. 84), yet the motif of *puer senex* was also an important element of secular narrations in the Middle Ages, see: Teresa C. Carp, "'Puer senex' in Roman and Medieval Thought," *Latomus. Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles* 39 (1980), pp. 736–739.

110 *Ljetopis*, p. 78.

111 *Život sv. Václava* [*The First Slavic Legend*], ed. Josef Kolář, Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 1 [Hereafter: FRB], ed. Josef Emler (Prague, 1873), p. 128.

112 These texts include: *The First Slavic Legend*, the first Latin text on Wenceslaus – *Crescente fide*, the Latin biography by Gumpold, the legend by the so-called monk Christian, *Dominus et redemptor noster* by Laurentius of Amalfi (written in Monte Cassino), *The Second Slavic Legend* – an adaptation of the text by Gumpold and the Latin text from Italy

On the other hand, the motif of marriage appeared much less frequently in the hagiography of the Czech ruler. It was present in two texts: *Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sanctae Ludmile*, authored by the so-called monk Christian, and most often dated to the end of the tenth century;[113] and in *The Second Slavic Legend* from the middle of eleventh century.[114] The so-called monk Christian described a marriage similar to that of Vladimir and Kosara, based on the principle of marital purity. On the other hand, in the text of the Slavic hagiography, Wenceslaus, forced into marriage by the magnates, left his wife shortly after begetting a descendant.[115]

A similar scheme was also used in the accounts of the circumstances of the death of both rulers. The motive of an insincere invitation played an important role in the legend of St. Vladimir; an invitation to a feast was equally significant in all the tenth- and eleventh-century texts belonging to the circle of the legend of St. Wenceslaus (except for *The Second Slavic Legend*). The stories about Vladimir and Wenceslaus also emphasized that the ruler agreed on his death (except for *The First Slavic Legend*).[116] Both legends described numerous attempts to kill the pious ruler by his opponents.

A church as the place of murder appeared not only in the legend of Vladimir, but also in the oldest *First Slavic Legend* of Wenceslaus.[117] On the other hand, "the cup of martyrdom" – which may be associated with the communion of both kinds received by Vladimir – was a much younger element in Wenceslaus' legend, and was not mentioned in the texts until the thirteenth century.[118]

In the early legends of ruler-martyrs formed in Slavdom, conflicts were related to the rivalry within the broadly understood dynasty. The responsibility for the death of Wenceslaus fell upon his younger brother, Boleslav. According

---

Oportet nos fratres: Joanna Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr. Studium źródłoznawcze nad legendą hagiograficzną św. Wacława (XXIV w.)* (Lublin, 2010), p. 204.

113 There were also other hypotheses, situating the narration of the so-called monk Christian even in the fourteenth century. On the historiographic debate about dating this work: Kalhous, *'Legenda Christiani'*; Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, *Święty i historia*, pp. 11–42.

114 On this episode: Dušan Třeštik, "Manželstvi knižete Vaclava podle II. staroslověnske legendy," in *Husitství – reformace – renesance*, pp. 39–46.

115 *Křišťanův život sv. Ludmily a sv. Vacláva*, FRB vol. 1 (Prague, 1873), p. 215; *Legenda Mantuanskago episkopa Gumol'da o sv. Vjačeslave češskom v slavjanorusskom preloženii* [*Легенда мантуанского епископа Гумпольда о св. Вячеславе Чешском в славянорусском переложении*], ed. Nikolaj K. Nikol'skij ([Sankt Peterburg], 1909,) p. 44; Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 214–17.

116 Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, p. 249.

117 Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 254–255; *Život sv. Václava*, pp. 131–132.

118 Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 254–255: in legends *Ut Annuncietur* and *Oriente iam sole.*

to the legend, Boris and Gleb were killed on the orders of their half-brother, Sviatopolk. Tsar Vladislav, the initiator of the murder of King Vladimir, was a kinsman of the victim. In each of these cases, however, the motif of the struggle for power was completely transformed in accordance with the Passion model, and the murdered rulers sacrificed themselves for the sake of the continuation of their kingdoms.

In such a dynastic scheme, the motif of betrayal, present in all the tales of king-martyrs, gained a special meaning in the construction of a legend. Ingham also distinguished here the motif of an "evil adviser", with probable modification in the form of "killer's regret". It can be found, to some extent, in the legend of King Vladimir. Seeing the miraculous light, Vladislav gave the body of the late king back to Kosara and let her choose his place of burial.[119] Thus, in a way, the Tsar made it possible to develop the cult of the saint. If the passage about Vladislav's death was a later addition, it could be guessed that the original text hinted at an inner transformation of the murderer. Among the eleventh-century variants of the legend of Wenceslaus, only *The First Slavic Legend*[120] and the narrative of Laurentius of Amalfi[121] noted similar remorse in Boleslav and his role in the saint's burial. *The Second Slavic Legend*, however, refers to the fact that Boleslav, tormented by devils, blamed his advisors for the wrong decisions he had made.[122]

All the texts about Wenceslaus – apart from the aforementioned *The First Slavic Legend* and the work of Laurentius of Amalfi – include the motif of punishing the perpetrators. It seems that within hagiographies associated with the legend of St. Wenceslaus, it was mutually exclusive with the motif of the killer's regret. In the legend of King Vladimir, however, both motifs are present, which clearly distinguishes the tale of the ruler of Duklja from the narratives related to the Bohemian duke.

Let us return to the analysis of the passage about the punishment of the Tsar at the walls of Dyrrachium. The attributes of the posthumous emanation of Vladimir – especially his knightly armour – may refer to a different model of the ruler: *miles christi*. This model, shaped under the influence of the Crusades and the canonization of Charlemagne in 1165, penetrated the narratives of ruler-martyrs in the twelfth century, and the circle of legends of St. Wenceslaus

119 "Videns autem imperator mirabilia, quae ibi deus operaretur, poenitentia ductus, satis timuit concessitque consobrinae suae tollere corpus eius et sepelire honorifice quocumque vellet", *Ljetopis*, p. 84.

120 *Život sv. Václava*, p. 134; Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 236–237.

121 *Vavřince, mnicha sv. Benedikta, utrpení sv. Václava*, trans. Josef Truhlář, FRB vol. 1, p. 179.

122 *Legenda Mantuanskago episkopa Gumol'da o sv. Vjačeslave češskom*, p. 56; Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 318–319.

even later. Initially, it appeared in historical works, which since Cosmas' time had attributed to Wenceslaus a special role as a helper on the battlefield.[123] This role was then also developed in hagiographic texts, as a result of the legend *Oriente iam sole* from the mid-thirteenth century.[124]

The sources for the image of Vladimir as an armed knight can be also found in the east. Within the Byzantine culture, at around the same time as in the West there were changes in the image of saint-warriors and the patrons of cities. Dudek listed Demetrius, George, Mercurius, Theodore of Amasea and Theodore Stratylates, as examples of saints who all enjoyed the reputation of knight-defenders. Georgi Minczew, however, emphasized the popularity of legends about St. Demetrius and St. George among the Balkan Slavs. He also observed transformations in the iconography of both saints that occurred between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries; the oldest representations of St. George and St. Demetrius – standing figures, with a cross, and wearing chlamys – were gradually replaced by images of armed men sitting on the throne. In the Late Middle Ages the most typical variant presented those saints as equestrians in armour.[125]

Marjanović-Dušanić also noticed Byzantine influences in the Latin legend about Vladimir. She speculated that the cults of king-martyrs in the Slavic world had to be associated with the growing popularity of the ideal of martyrdom (and monasticism) in the Byzantine Empire.[126] The process of strengthening the bonds between sanctity, social position, and authority can be observed in the Eastern Empire from the eleventh century. In this model, people recognized as saints were often representatives of secular or ecclesiastical authorities.[127] Similar phenomena in this cultural circle can also be observed in later centuries, with the particular intensity of the cult of martyrs during the time of the Palaiologos.[128]

---

123 Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 164–5.

124 Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, pp. 274–5.

125 Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz," p. 227; Georgi Minczew, *Święta księga – ikona – obrzęd. Teksty kanoniczne i pseudokanoniczne a ich funkcjonowanie w sztuce sakralnej i folklorze prawosławnych Słowian na Bałkanach* (Łódź, 2003), p. 150.

126 Marjanović-Dušanić, "Patterns of Martyrial Sanctity," p. 72.

127 Marjanović-Dušanić, "Patterns of Martyrial Sanctity," p. 71; Rosemary Morris, "The Political Saint of Bzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Century," in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn (Sigmaringen, 1994), pp. 385–402; eadem, "The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. Sergei Hackel (London, 1981) pp. 43–50.

128 Paul Magdalino, "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century," in *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 51–60; Ruth Macrides, *Saints and Sainthood in the early Palaiologan Period*, in *The Byzantine Saint*, pp. 67–87.

According to Marjanović-Dušanić, the shape of the Slavic model of ruler-martyrs might be influenced by the example of Nikephoros II Phokas. The legend of this emperor originated in the eleventh century and contained many motifs characteristic of the type discussed in king-martyr stories: Phokas became the victim of a conspiracy undertaken by his wife, his murder was the result of a political struggle, but the popular narrative presented him as a holy man, leaning towards monastic ideals. Finally, the repentance of John I Tzimiskes and his regret for the act he had committed became part of the legend, and helped to establish the cult of Phokas (and as a result, Tzimiskes himself became a saint).[129]

6 The Functions of the Legend of Vladimir in the Context of the Narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*

There are many indications that before it was included in *Regnum Sclavorum*, the narrative about King Vladimir had functioned as an independent text, unrelated to the plot of the chronicle. It is worth considering why this fragment was incorporated in the work by the Priest of Duklja. For Banašević, Vladimir's legend had no important functions in the dynastic program contained in the Priest of Duklja's text, but this judgment must be considered as too harsh. As he stated: "In contrast to the biographies of Nemanja, the entire life of Vladimir, as shown in *The Chronicle*, is presented like the lives of saints in hagiographies, and in no way resembles the tales of founders or representatives of ruling dynasties. The figure of Vladimir was included in the genealogy of the old Duklja dynasty, but chapter XXXVI, which constitutes a separate entity, neither mentioned his ancestors and successors, nor the authority given to him by God".[130] However, the very presence of the legend in a larger plot contradicts such a view; the Priest of Duklja, for some reason, found the motif of Vladimir so important that he decided to present it within his own vision of history, and the process of adaptation of the legend gave it a new meaning.

This secondary context could be based, to some extent, on the original meaning of the legend. Its presence within the frame of *Regnum Sclavorum* liberated the symbols which already existed in the analysed text. There is not much to say about the environment in which the work could originally have been composed, or about the people who were initially responsible for the development of Vladimir's cult. More can be deduced about the modified

129 Marjanović-Dušanić, *Sveti kralj*, pp. 91–92.

130 Banašević, *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*, p. 178.

meaning of the motif from its place in the composition of *Regnum Sclavorum*. It is reasonable to divide the motif's dual function, primary and secondary, between two different dynastic ideologies.

The phenomenon of holy rulers in the newly Christianized part of Europe played a special role in the process of shaping the ideological program of new dynasties. Gábor Klaniczay, who studied the functions of the cult of rulers in the context of *Christianitas*, (which he perceived as being divided into the old centre and new peripheries),[131] noted that such cults constituted a specific manifestation of the positioning of ruling families and an important element of communication between them and their subjects. Klaniczay observed that the dominant image of the ideal ruler in the areas of "younger Europe" often differed from the models prevailing in the centre; certain types of rulers, such as *rex martyr* discussed above, gained local features in the peripheries and, with various intensities, contributed to establishing coherent dynastic doctrines.[132] Klaniczay's findings are useful because they give a general pattern of ordering individual, often diversified, manifestations of the model of an ideal ruler, among others in medieval Central and Eastern Europe (including Slavdom). Using the example of the Árpád dynasty, he also showed how the dynastic cult was developed, supported and controlled by the representatives of the ruling family and state elites, by revising legendary motifs and adapting them to the changing socio-political situation.

Ingham observed that in the discussed fragment of *Regnum Sclavorum*, political motifs prevail over religious ones. He noted that thanks to a clear reference to the life of Christ, Vladimir embodies the features of an ideal ruler. His modesty, justice and tendency to sacrifice are part of the model of a medieval ruler known as *rex iustus* or *pastor bonus*. According to Ingham, in the work by the Priest of Duklja, the functions of this character go beyond those which are usually attributed to king-martyrs.[133]

We may suspect that the legend of King Vladimir initially served to build the dynastic ideology of the rulers of Duklja. Dudek interpreted the Latin

131 On the division: Patrick J. Geary, "Reflections on Historiography and the Holy: Center and Periphery," in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christiendom (c. 1000–1300)*, ed. Lars Boje Mortensen (Copenhagen, 2006), pp. 323–330.

132 On the basis of Czech, Ruthenian and Hungarian accounts, Klaniczay considered a specific type of king-martyr, the new type of *rex iustus*, and the chivalry type of *athleta patriae* as dominating respectively since the end of the tenth century, since the end of the eleventh century, and since the end of the twelfth century. As for the Árpáds, he related the two latter types with the canonisation of St. Stephen, St. Emeric and the martyr Gellért (Gerard of Csanád) (1083 r.) and the canonisation of St. Ladislaus (1192): Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, pp. 114–173.

133 Ingham, "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir," p. 212.

legend in this way, as "a work glorifying the memory of the Duklja ruler", and observed that the "historical kings of Zeta considered themselves his legitimate heirs". According to him, it was "significant evidence of the authority of the new monarchy".[134] However, Dudek did not state precisely which of the Zeta rulers should be linked to the cult of St. Vladimir. Živković speculated that Constantine Bodin, who ruled in Duklja at the end of the eleventh century, could have propagated Vladimir's legend. It could have taken place at the time when the archbishopric at Bar was being renewed. Michael of Duklja (Mihailo Vojislavljević), Bodin's predecessor, was, according to Živković, heavily involved in the propagation of the cult of his father and the founder of the dynasty, Stefan Vojislav.[135]

As it has already been mentioned, some of the names of the rulers of Duklja also appeared in *Regnum Sclavorum*. Hvostova analysed the term *rex* within this narrative, and suggested that in the first part of the work, it referred to each of the rulers of the Kingdom of the Slavs, but there is a significant change in this respect in Vladimir's legend. According to Hvostova, the Priest of Duklja, starting from this point, used the term *rex* to refer to the actual heritage of the kings of Duklja.[136]

Information about the royal status of the rulers of Duklja is confirmed by sources which are independent of *Regnum Sclavorum*. Indeed, in his letter, Pope Gregory VII referred to Mihailo Vojislavljević as *rex Sclavorum*,[137] and the list of rulers in the work by the Priest of Duklja coincides on some points with information about Mihailo's successors in Byzantine sources and preserved documents issued by Constantine Bodin, George I of Duklja, or Desa Vukanović. If we treat the rulers mentioned in the work by the Priest of Duklja as historical figures, we can identify Petrislav, Vladimir's father, with Petar, titled "archon of Duklja" on his leaden seal, which has not survived and is only known from a nineteenth-century reproduction.[138] Nevertheless, such similarities and convergences can also be found in reference to other rulers of the fictitious "dynasty" described by the Priest of Duklja in *Regnum Sclavorum* (Tomislav, Časlav) and it seems that it is still not enough to trust unconditionally all information about the kings of Duklja provided by this work.

Medini believed that only the part of the text about the rulers of Zeta was the work of the Priest of Duklja himself. There were hypotheses that the chronicler

---

134 Dudek, "Święty Jan Włodzimierz," p. 225.

135 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 270, note 1297.

136 Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," p. 31.

137 *Documenta*, no. 158, pp. 211–212; see: Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie*, pp. 131–133.

138 Gustave L. Schlumberg, *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin* (Paris, 1884), pp. 433–434.

used some lost genealogy,[139] and the structure of *Regnum Sclavorum* does not confirm it unambiguously. Even if such a text did exist, it would obtain new meaning by being placed in a more complex structure of *Regnum Sclavorum* – just as in the case of the legend of King Vladimir.

The legend of Vladimir is particularly important in this context, because at a purely narrative level it enables a certain transformation which resulted from the updated vision of the Kingdom of the Slavs. Vladimir is an example of a new type of king. After the Gothic conquerors, Svetopelek the lawmaker and the victorious Pavlimir Bello, the kingdom entered a period of fragmentation and its ideal image was reduced to a part of the former area. Therefore, it was necessary to re-evaluate the ideal of a ruler. Vladimir was a king who did not fight, but at the same time he was ready to sacrifice himself to save his subjects during an invasion.

In all likelihood, the work by the Priest of Duklja, at least in the form that is known today, was not formed before the end of the thirteenth century. This view is supported by the fact that *Regnum Sclavorum* presented a different vision of the origins and development of the royal family than the actual dynastic programs that Klaniczay tried to systematize. In fact, the ruler-martyr appeared at the end of the narrative which is available to us, so his activity was not directly related to the first period of Christianization of the new state – unlike the case of Wenceslaus, or of Boris and Gleb. Vladimir was rather the ruler of the Kingdom of the Slavs at the time of its decline.

Signs of the disintegration of the territorial vision of the kingdom appeared at this stage in the Priest of Duklja's narrative. Admittedly, the signs can be noticed in earlier parts of the narrative, when the great state of Pavlimir collapsed after his death. The conflict between the heirs of the kingdom and the župans of Raška reappeared several times. Reconciliation took place during the reign of Predimir, who married Prehvala, the župan's daughter. Together with his father-in-law, he managed to drive the Greek troops out of his lands. However, after Predimir's death, the kingdom was divided between his sons. Raška, Bosnia and White Croatia no longer belonged. The latter country was ruled by the deceased king's brother and his descendants. The aforementioned Tetrarchy consisted of Zeta, Travunja, Hum and Submontana (also known as Podgoria). This period of the simultaneous reign of four kings was the time of the crisis in the state. As the Priest of Duklja wrote: "Filii Predimiri regis [autem], relinquentes vestiga patris sui, caeperunt dure et superbe se agere contra populum, quem regebant" ([Meanwhile] the sons of King Predimir abandoned their father's path, and began to treat the people they ruled in an

139 Živković thought that it was a Slavic source: *Gesta regum*, pp. 284–285.

inhuman and arrogant manner).[140] The rulers and their descendants were murdered by the seven sons of their cousin Legec, who, in turn – as the chronicler claimed – were punished by pestilence and plague ("pestilentia et clade"). As a result, the state was left without a king. Then, Sylvester, saved from the slaughter, ascended to the throne. Vladimir was a descendant of his lineage.

The crisis of the monarchy and the division of the territorial entity defined by the Priest of Duklja at the beginning of the chronicle demanded a new founding legend. The legend of King Vladimir illustrated the reign without the imperial element which used to be so important. It was a good example by the Priest of Duklja of redefining his opinions of an ideal ruler, as the narrative moved from the sphere of fantasy to a time closer to that of the chronicler.

The figure of Vladimir's successor, King Dragimir, seems interesting in this respect. The narrative about this ruler repeats many previously known motifs and to some extent reveals the "stitches" used by the Priest of Duklja to link the legend of Vladimir with the rest of the story. Like his predecessor, Dragimir was murdered. He perished while trying to hide in the church to escape the trap that had been prepared for him by the burghers of Kotor on the Island of St. Gabriel, now the Island of St. Mark. His wife was the daughter of the late župan of Raška, Ljutomir, whose name brings associations with Pavlimir Bello's opponent. Although, according to the text, there is a gap of several generations between both Ljutomirs, one gets the impression that they could be the same figure. Interestingly, the continuation of the dynasty was secured one more time by a posthumous child, just as in the description of Pavlimir. This time it was the son of Dragimir, later King Dobroslav.[141] These characteristic details were therefore mentioned in the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum* when it referred to moments of crisis and the re-establishment of the status of the Slavic realm.

Its decline is evidenced by the story of Radoslav the last ruler of the kingdom mentioned in the text. The chronicler claimed that Radoslav had received confirmation of his authority from Emperor Manuel,[142] and repeated the formula used for the other rulers: "caepit tenere et dominare terram cum fratribus suis" (he began to rule and manage the country with his brothers). However, as was observed by Hvostova, Radoslav was the only legal suzerain of the state whom the Priest of Duklja did not call *rex*, but used *knesius* instead.[143] The latter term appears only in the fragment of the work devoted to the rulers of

140 *Ljetopis*, p. 76.
141 *Ljetopis*, pp. 85–86.
142 Perhaps: Manuel Komnen.
143 Hvostova, "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina," p. 34.

Duklja (which is also called "Zeta" in this part of the text). A *knesius* [prince] was lower in rank than a king, as was expressed by the chronicler, who wrote that after Dobroslav's death, among the sons: "Nullus autem (…) vocitatus est rex, donec vixit regina mater eorum, sed tantummodo knesii vacabantur" ("None of them (…) called himself a king, as long as the queen-mother was alive, but they only called themselves *knesii*").[144]

We may have some doubts concerning the date the Priest of Duklja's work was completed. The text available to us, however, revealed the tendency of the historian who, as the story progressed, would narrow the geographic and symbolic areas of the power of the rulers described by him. The model of a king-martyr – but also a representative example of a just king and a good shepherd – could be helpful to justify a shift that promoted a new model of government, more accurate in relation to the changed balance of power in the kingdom. Under different political conditions, the ideal reference for the Priest of Duklja was no longer militant rulers, such as Pavlimir Bello, but kings ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their community, like Vladimir. The Kingdom of the Slavs changed from a local empire into a state torn apart by foreign invasions. The most important ruler of this phase became the righteous and humble king, taking the utmost care of the wellbeing of his subjects.

7 Summary

Although the legend of King Vladimir was probably a separate hagiographical text, it functioned on a slightly different basis within *Regnum Sclavorum*. The Priest of Duklja used the example of Vladimir when he was creating the new model of an ideal ruler, one who was ready for sacrifices and who bore the characteristics of holy-martyrs. The role of the chronicler was limited to placing the legend fully centrally in his work and arranging the plot so that Vladimir would find his place within the fictitious dynasty created by the chronicler.

On the basis of the narrative known to us, it can be stated that the hypothetical hagiography of St. Vladimir, which dated back to the eleventh century, was only loosely associated with the cult of St Jovan Vladimir, which developed much later and was expressed by the Greek *The Elbasan Legend*, and later oral tradition and religious writings of the clerics of the Serbian Church.

144 *Ljetopis*, p. 93.

The Latin legend about Vladimir has many motifs in common with the Byzantine history of John Skylitzes. Compared to other stories in the work by the Priest of Duklja, the legend stands in a clearer relationship to historical events. However, some important motifs were migratory: the story of Vladimir and Kosara probably referred to two traditions combined with the Old Testament figure of Joseph, while the story of Vladislav's death referred to changes that began to take place in the cult of holy-kings and patrons of the cities from the twelfth century, both in the Latin and the Byzantine worlds.

The purpose of the hypothetical hagiography copied or paraphrased by the author of *Regnum Sclavorum* is unknown. Besides standard hagiographic motifs, features typical of the cult of king-martyrs can be distinguished in this narrative. The *rex martyr* model was particularly popular in the Christian peripheries of Europe and served to conceptualize the newly-shaped dynasties in an ideological way. It is not impossible, therefore, that the legend of Vladimir was originally used by the kings of Duklja to strengthen the identification of their state.

The Priest of Duklja, using the already established structure, placed the figure of Vladimir in an even broader context, making him the ideal of a ruler from the time of the decline of the fictitious kingdom, at the threshold of a new branch of the dynasty he described. In this way he completed the process of transformation of the Kingdom of the Slavs initiated by its particular rulers from barbarian Gothic chieftains, through the imperial policy of the kings-founders, Svetopelek and (to some extent) Pavlimir Bello, to Vladimir, whose greatest advantage was renunciation and the ability to sacrifice in the name of the good of the subjects.

CHAPTER 7

Excursus: the Croatian Text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* on the Death of King Zvonimir

1 Introduction

So far we have discussed the text of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, known as *The Croatian Chronicle*, mainly as a reference for the more obscure parts of *Regnum Sclavorum*. The Croatian text, written in *čakavica* (the Chakavian dialect),[1] was, as far as we could see, a fairly faithful translation of the Latin version. However, there were some distinctive differences which sometimes influenced the meaning of the narrative. The first twenty-three chapters of the Latin text (according to the broadly accepted division proposed by Črnčić) were presented faithfully by the author of the Croatian variant, but the story changed at the end, where Zvonimir's reign and his violent death were discussed.

The killing of a king is not an unusual subject in the historiography of "younger Europe", but the interesting factor is that the motif of regicide takes an important place in both the Croatian and Latin versions of *The Chronicle*. In the former, the motif of killing Zvonimir finished the narrative and justified the end of the described Kingdom of the Croats; in the latter, as we saw in the previous chapter, the martyrdom of Vladimir had a different role and allowed the Priest of Duklja to focus the narrative more on Duklja, and it also justified the disintegration of the Kingdom of the Slavs in the shape in which it was presented at the start of the work.

Although both chroniclers considered it appropriate to include a similar motif in the framework of their stories, its tone and place in the narrative structure of the two main versions of *The Chronicle* is different. In this chapter, we will trace the sources of the tradition of Zvonimir, and define its place in the narrative construction of the Croatian variant of the work. The tale of the murdered ruler is connected with the issue of collective sin, and is therefore an important topic for understanding both the story of the Goths and the fall of

1 Although with many influences from the Shtokavian dialect. Analysis of dialectological and historical features of the language of the Croatian text has been made recently by Amir Kapetanović, "'Staro' i 'novo' u jeziku Kaletićeva prijepisa hrvatske redakcjije Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina," *Ricerche Slavistische* 57 (2013), no. 11, pp. 21–37.

 | DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_008

King Radoslav. As we will demonstrate, the differences in the method of imaging in both versions may not be accidental. The author of the Croatian text prepared a description of the final guilt of the Croats toward their own ruler, which was the culmination of events leading to the interruption of the golden age of the realm described in the work. The Priest pf Duklja perceived the history of his kingdom in a slightly different perspective: the tale of Vladimir's death, especially when confronted with the finale of the Croatian text, allows us to extract these details and at the same time understand more fully the ideological assumptions that led to the specific ways of depicting the past events chosen by each of the chroniclers.

2 Zvonimir or Casimir? Sources of the Legend of the King's Violent Death

Although the development of the tradition of the violent death of Zvonimir has already been thoroughly discussed in the Croatian historiography,[2] the roots of this motif are still unclear.[3] The reign of King Zvonimir is confirmed by numerous sources, but the early accounts do not mention the circumstances of the ruler's death. It is known that the historical Zvonimir, also known as Demetrius, was crowned in 1076 in St. Peter's Church in Salona[4] in the presence of Gebizo, a papal legate.[5] We can also guess that the ruler died between October 1087 and September 1089. The earlier date is associated with the last known document signed by the king: the confirmation of the charter for the St. Mary convent of Benedictine nuns in Zadar,[6] while the later date is linked with the charter issued in Šibenik by his successor, Stefan II, with the reference

2 Overview of literature of the subject: Dražen Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 38 (2006), pp. 73–92. Besides the literature quoted in the further part of the chapter, there are also other works discussing general problem related to "historical Zvonimir" and "literary Zvonimir": Marjan Drmač, "Legenda o Zvonimirovoj smrti," *Motrišta. Časopis za kulturu, znanost i društvena pitanja* 64–65 (2012), pp. 124–138; Nikola Maslać, "Hrvatski kralj Zvonimir plemeniti (1076–1089)," *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* (1941), no. 2, pp. 172–179; Joja Ricov, "Zvonimir – dobri kralj Hrvata," *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti* 45 (1990), no. 1–2, pp. 78–89; "Kralj Zvonimir. Dokumenti i spomenici," *Muzej arheoloških spomenika – Split i arheološki muzej – Zagreb*, 1990.

3 Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," pp. 73–74.

4 The so-called Šuplja crkva (hollow church), in the vicinity of the ruins of Salona – today's Solin – near Split. Mentioning Split as a site of the coronation seems unprecise in this context.

5 *Documenta*, no. 87, pp. 103–105. This issue is discussed in details in Chapter 4.

6 *Documenta*, no. 119, p. 145.

to "a nuper rege defuncto Suinimiro".[7] On this basis, Šišić speculated that the ruler died in the first half of 1089.[8] Although the document issued by Stefan II is considered to be a counterfeit, its creation is dated back to the time of the alleged end of Zvonimir's reign. The charter mentions the king's death, but not its circumstances. The very presence of a successor indicates that the counterfeiter did not know the legend of the ruler's murder – in the legends of the murder, Zvonimir is presented as the last of the lineage of Croatian monarchs.[9]

In addition, the famous Glagolitic inscription on the island of Krk, known as the Baška tablet (*Baščanska ploča*), dating back to 1100,[10] referred to the donation that Zvonimir had given to the Benedictine monastery near Baška in "his days", without suggesting in any way that his rule had been cut short by any incident.[11] Similarly, information about the king's murder is not found in documents issued in the twelfth century during the Hungarian rule in Croatia, although, as Dražen Nemet shows, Zvonimir's name appeared in various documents a further six more.[12] In addition, the charter of Louis I of Hungary concerning the town of Karin, from 1360, in which Zvonimir was described using the term "dominus rex", and which also mentioned Claudia, the royal daughter,[13] did not contain any information about suspicious events at the end of the ruler's life.

Finally, there is no mention of the king's murder in narrative works from the thirteenth century. Thomas the Archdeacon wrote about Zvonimir's death without issue and called him the last in the lineage of the Croatian rulers.[14] This way of describing the event, especially the phrase "mortis debitum solvit" (pays debts to death, i.e. dies), taken from the Bible, indicates that the chronicler was not suggesting any unnatural circumstances around the final departure of the ruler.[15] The motif of Zvonimir's death without progeny seems interesting. Three documents from the second half of the eleventh century, known to us from the preserved Italian translations, show that Zvonimir not only had a daughter but that he also had a son, Radovan, who did not outlive his

7 *Documenta*, no. 119, p. 148.
8 Ferdo Šišić, "O smrti hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira," *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 8 (1905), p. 5.
9 Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," p. 75.
10 Inscription and its Polish translation: Boroń, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie*, pp. 129–131.
11 Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb, 1975), pp. 404–405.
12 *Codex diplomaticus* vol. 2, no. 100, p. 106, no. 201, p. 211, no. 208, p. 221, no. 210, pp. 225–226, no. 277, pp. 293–294, no. 331, p. 358; see: Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," p. 76.
13 Nada Klaić, "O Legendarnoj smrti kralja Zvonimira," *Istorijski zapisi* 16 (1963), p. 240.
14 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 92–93.
15 Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," p. 76.

father.[16] Thomas the Archdeacon's chronicle did not include this information, and the king is described in it as the last representative of the native dynasty. The chronicler emphasized this fact by describing Zvonimir with the words "ultimus rex Croatorum".[17] This information was repeated by *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, written in the mid-fourteenth century, which claimed that King Ladislaus I took over rule in Croatia and Dalmatia after the issueless death of Zvonimir. The chronicle justifies Hungary's rights to this land through the Árpáds' kinship with the deceased king's wife, who was a sister of Ladislaus,[18] and mentions that the widow was under threat from some hostile magnates who were lying in wait for her. It was at her request that Ladislaus entered Croatia.[19] The legend in this form was later repeated by the Hungarian chronicles of the fifteenth century: *The Buda Chronicle*, *Chronica Hungarorum* by Johannes de Thurocz and *Rerum Ungaricum decades* by Antonio Bonfini.[20]

In this period, the legend of the king's murder was probably taking shape. After Dražen Nemet, we can list the main medieval and early-modern narratives presenting this motif:

– The oldest implementation of motif of the murder of the Croatian ruler surviving today is the story preserved by *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* (*Chronicon Hungarico-Polonurum*).[21] Ryszard Grzesik believed the work was created in the 1220s or 1230s at the Slavonian court of Coloman, a titular king of Halych,[22] although some scholars claimed that it was much older and could have been composed even at the end of the eleventh century.[23]

---

16 *Codex diplomaticus* vol. 1, no. 127, pp. 164–165, no. 139, pp. 180–181, no. 140, pp. 181–182.

17 *Historia Salonitana*, pp. 88–89.

18 Here unnamed, but historically speaking it was Helena, daughter of Béla I.

19 *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, chapter 62, p. 193.

20 After: Jelka Ređep, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," (Novi Sad, 1987), p. 86.

21 The discussion if this is actually the same legend was reported by Grzesik, who recognized a similar structure in the content of the chronicle and the sources from Croatia: Ryszard Grzesika, "Sources of a Story About the Murdered Croatian King in the Polish-Hungarian Chronicle," *Povijesni prilozi* 24 (2003), pp. 97–104.

22 Ryszard Grzesik, "Książę węgierski żonaty z córką Mścisława Halickiego. Przyczynek do problemu czasu i miejsca powstania Kroniki węgiersko-polskiej," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3–4 (1995), pp. 23–35; idem, "Wstęp," in *Żywot św. Stefana króla Węgier, czyli Kronika węgierskopolska*, p. 19.

23 There are two known versions of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*: longer and shorter, and their mutual relation is not fully settled: Grzesik, *Żywot św. Stefana*, pp. 37–38, idem, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, pp. 21–26. Wojciech Kętrzyński, *O Kronice węgiersko-polskiej* (*Vita sancti Stephani Ungaro-Polona*) (Krakow, 1897), pp. 365–392; See: Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, p. 519, presenting the summary of the discussion and extensive bibliography.

One of the fragments of the chronicle tells that the ruler of the Hungarians, King Attila-Aquila, had the following vision. On the way to Rome, an angel appeared to him to pass a divine command of vengeance on the Croatians and Slavs who had treacherously killed their king (in this particular narrative called "Casimir"). Attila defeated the princes of Croatia and Slavonia (Sclavonia) in the battle between the rivers Sava and Drava and, after executing God's command, he decided to stay in the area of Slavonia. He married a daughter of the prince of the Slavs and ordered his warriors to take Slavic and Croatian wives.[24]

Most scholars who have studied the chronicle agree that Casimir's name probably echoes that of the Croatian King Peter Krešimir IV.[25] Brygida Kürbis thought that the change in the narrative of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* was influenced by the Polish tradition of Casimir I the Restorer.[26] A peculiar form in the shorter version of the chronicle – where the name *trezimir* may be identified with Krešimir[27] – could be a trace of this process. Gerard Labuda regarded the tales of the author of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* as a *cicer cum caule*,[28] which may be accepted at face value, because – as will be shown in a moment – it is not the only similarity to the plot of the narrative in *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.

– The Croatian text (*The Croatian Chronicle*) contained the second record of the tragic death of the king. It was the first narrative in which the murdered ruler was called Zvonimir. As was mentioned in the introduction, the

24 *Żywot św. Stefana*, pp. 56–60.

25 Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, pp. 83–84.

26 Brygida Kürbis, *Studia nad 'Kroniką wielkopolską'* (Poznań, 1952), pp. 140–141.

27 Kürbis, *Studia nad 'Kroniką wielkopolską'*, pp. 140–141; Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, p. 83. Kürbis argued that traces of this shift are also visible in the *Chronica Poloniae maioris*. She referred to the information about Casimir the Restorer. According to this chronicle the Carantanians (the author derives the name from the word *koryto*, i.e. "river trough or channel") were subordinate to the Lechites (Poles) but in the time of Casimir they broke their dependence and refused to pay tribute ("His omnibus autem Slaworum nacionibus, Pannonia dumtaxat excepta sed iuncta Corinthia cuius inhabitatores Ceruchane vocantur a *coritha* quod canalia interpretantur semper Lechitarum imperio subiecti tributa reddebant usque ad tempora regis Kazimiri monachi. Cuius tempore [...] plures naciones obediencie Lechitarum recedentes tributa Lechitis consueta dare denegarunt", *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, p. 6). The tale comes in the text just before the description of the Hungarians and the deeds of their leader – Attila. According to Kürbis, the author of this fragment associated the traditions about Krešimir with the Polish ruler. In another passage we read that Casimir the Restorer (Casimir the Monk) ruled over the Polish and certain Slavic people ("Huic Kazimiro licet tota gens Polonica ac quedam Sclawonica", ibidem, p. 19).

28 Gerard Labuda, *Mieszko II król polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego* (Krakow, 1992), p. 179, after: Grzesik, "Wstęp," in *Żywot św. Stefana*, p. 20.

manuscript of this version was found at the start of the sixteenth century by Papalić; Marulić translated it in 1510, and the oldest manuscript we have today is the copy made by Kaletić in 1546. It is most commonly assumed that this variant of the text was written in the fifteenth century,[29] although it was also dated back to the fourteenth century,[30] and some scholars thought it was even older and was composed in the twelfth century,[31] which seems doubtful in the light of the material we can examine today. It is believed that the Croatian text carries traces of a translator's work and that it is a translation of a part of *Regnum Sclavorum* from Latin into one of the Croatian dialects.[32] In this view, the legend of Zvonimir would be an addition, or a change to the original narrative. Živković presented a complicated hypothesis about the formation of the work. He suggested that the basis of the translation was an unknown Latin text containing a narrative similar to that known from the Croatian version; according to him, this hypothetical work was the first variant of *Regnum Sclavorum*.[33] On the other hand, Mladen Ančić distinguished two sources of the Croatian text: the Latin text of the first part of *The Chronicle* and some account of regicide which did not survive. Ančić thought that the translation or compilation was made at the turn of the fourteenth century and even suggested that its author was Nikola of Krajina, a clergyman active in Trogir.[34]

The story contained in the Croatian version, besides information about the king, was distinguished by several characteristic elements: a) the author placed Zvonimir among the legendary rulers and recognized him as a descendant of Krišimir; b) the ruler was given the epithet "the good king"; the chronicler described the period of his reign as the golden the age of the Croatian kingdom; c) the reason for the murder of the king by his subjects was that he had called for a crusade and they were reluctant to take part in

29 Nikola Radojčić, "Legenda o smrti hrvatskog kralja Dimitrije Zvonimira," *Glas – Srpska Kraljevska akademija* 171 (1936), p. 57; Ančić, "Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije," p. 297n.

30 Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 162; Petar Grgec, "Svjedočanstvo Zvonimirove nadgrobnice," *Kalendar "Napredak" za g. 1942* (Sarajevo, 1941), pp. 41–49.

31 Mužić, *Hrvatska kronika u Ljetopisu popa Dukljanina*, pp. 17–38; Peričić, *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog*, pp. 270–271.

32 Ančić, "Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije," p. 275; Kapetanović ("'Staro' i 'novo' u jeziku Kaletićeva prijepisa hrvatske redakcjije Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina," pp. 21–37) did not confirm such a distinct separation of the final fragment, and concluded that in the text of the Croatian version old and new elements are scattered and mixed with archaic language which proves that a core part of the account was composed before the fifteenth century.

33 Živković, *Gesta regum*, p. 21n.

34 Ančić, "Ljetopis kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije," pp. 273–304.

the expedition; d) "five churches" in Kosovo were considered to be the place of murder; e) the chronicle also mentioned that before the Croats murdered Zvonimir, he cursed them for their sin: they were to be ruled by monarchs speaking a foreign language; f) instead of the mythical Attila, the author referred to the appointed Hungarian King Béla I as Zvonimir's successor, and gave the exact date of death of the Croatian ruler: 1079.[35]

– The third narrative about the tragic fate of Zvonimir is the work known as *Historia Salonitana maior*,[36] an altered and supplemented version of the chronicle authored by Thomas the Archdeacon, probably written at the start of the sixteenth century. In the fourth chapter of our work, we discussed the documents of the Synods in Split which were included in this work, but may have been much older. Contemporary Croatian historiography generally rejects the view formulated by Stjepan Gunjača, who claimed that the chronicle had been written in the first half of the thirteenth century by Thomas himself, and was later modified after his stay in Bologna,[37] although this idea was recently supported by Živković.[38]

The account of *Historia Salonitana maior* is similar to the one we know from the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. According to the chronicler, the king's name is Svonimir, while the Hungarians call him Zolomer. The work contains the motif of the crusade to the tomb of Christ. The place where the crusade is announced is, as in the Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, Kosovo, also called *quinque ecclesiae* (identified as Biskupija near Knin[39]). However, *Historia Salonitana maior* also contained elements which are absent in the Croatian variant of *The Chronicle*, such as the motif

35 Some scholars tried to explain the ten-year difference between this date and the accepted date of the death of historical Zvonimir speculating on the script in which a source of the legend – which has not survived to our times – was written. Aleksandar Radoman thought it could be the Glagolitic script (Aleksandar Radoman, "O pismu izvorniku hronike Kraljestvo Slovena Popa Dukljanina," *Lingua Montenegrina* 2 (2008), p. 106). Bratulić explained the discrepancy pointing to differences between numerical systems of the Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts: Josip Bratulić, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki*, p. 239.

36 *Historia Salonitana maior*, ed. Nada Klaić, Jorjo Tadić (Belgrade, 1967), pp. 110–112.

37 Stjepan Gunjača, *Ispravci i dopune starijoj hrvatskoj historiji*, vol. 1 (Zagreb, 1973), pp. 25–34.

38 Živković, *Gesta regum*, pp. 132–133, note 568.

39 That is how this site was identified by Stjepan Gunjača, "Kako i gdje je završio hrvatski kralj Dimitrije Zvonimir, s dodatkom: O grobu kralja Zvonimira na Kapitolu kod Knina," *Rad JAZU* 288 (1952), pp. 286–297. On the other hand, Smiljanić thought that it was simply the famous *Kosovo polje*. According to him, the legend was created in the beginning of the sixteenth century, during the reign of Louis II of Hungary, and has explicit anti-Turkish overtones: Franjo Smiljanić, "Neke topografske dileme vezane uz vijesti o smrti kralja Zvonimira," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvatski*, pp. 229–234.

of Zvonimir's widow known also from the *Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*. The chronicler describes her as a daughter of Béla I (which would be the same as Ladislaus' sister from the aforementioned Hungarian tradition). It was at her request that Ladislaus entered Croatia. Scholars were intrigued by the reference to the "alpes, que dicuntur feree" (mountains called "iron") he encountered on his route, which may be associated with the mountain Gvozd ("Nail"), the site of the historical King Peter's battle with the Hungarians.[40]

The story ends with the text of Zvonimir's epitaph. It accuses the Croats of committing the sin which caused the kingdom to fall. According to Bratulić, the style of the verse showed elements of goliardic poetry and characteristic features of epitaphs composed in Croatia in the mid-fourteenth century.[41]

– The Latin *Anonymous Chronicle* from Split – known in the manuscript from the turn of the sixteenth century, and after philological analysis dated back to the period before the fourteenth century[42] – contained this story in a slightly changed form. It mentions 1092 as the year of the war with the Saracens and the king's death. According to it, Zvonimir was murdered at Petrovo Polje and buried in St. Mary's Church in Bribir. Unlike in the variants discussed so far, the king was called to the war neither by the emperor nor by the pope, but by the king of France and the Hungarian King Andrew. *The Anonymous Chronicle* did not repeat information about the childlessness of the ruler; according to it, Zvonimir had two daughters who were given into the care of the magnates in his last will and testament. The king, seriously wounded, managed to bequeath his kingdom to Hungary before his death.[43]

The Anonymous Chronicle also included the only medieval account coming from the southern Slavic region and concerning the White Croats (*Croates albi*), other than the two versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.[44] The text mentions a pair of ethnonyms known from *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*: "Croats" and "Slavs", presumably as synonyms. The slight difference between them was probably unintentional in the source:

---

40 Rački noted the modern annotation on the margin of the Zagreb Codex of the chronicle of Thomas the Archdeacon: "Alpes ferreae dictae Gwozd" (Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. Franjo Rački, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 26, Scriptores vol. 3 (Zagreb, 1894), p. 57, note a).

41 Bratulić, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," p. 239.

42 Stjepan Gunjača, "Uz novi izvor o smrti kralja Zvonimira," *Mogućnosti* 2 (1961), p. 161; Morović, "Novi izvori o nasiljnoj smrti kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira," pp. 830–831.

43 Text: Morović, "Novi izvori o nasiljnoj smrti kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira," p. 835.

44 Kurelac, "Povijesni zapis nazvan 'Anonimna Kronika'," p. 372.

the Croats were called by the king, and he was killed by "a certain Slav", but the author does not seem to draw any narrative consequences from it.[45]

– This linguistic confusion was probably used by the Croatian Franciscan Ivan Tomašić, when he wrote his *Chronicon breve regni Croatie* before 1561. The most important change introduced in the narrative of this work was a clear division of roles between the Croatians and the Dalmatians on one side, and the inhabitants of Slavonia on the other.

  In this account the ruler's name was Zorobel[46] and he was titled the last king of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia. On his own initiative, he gathered his subjects at Petrove Polje to announce to them his plan of a crusade to the tomb of Christ. The inhabitants of Slavonia, apprehensive for the safety of their children and wives, conspired against the ruler, and convinced the royal marshal and the cup-bearer (the name of the former is unknown, but the latter was Tadija Slovinec) to murder him. Before his death, the ruler managed to wipe out the guilt of the Croats and Dalmatians, whom he called "faithful servants", and to express regret that they would be subject to foreign kings due to the fault of the inhabitants of Slavonia. In the work by Tomašić, Zorobel died childless, he was buried in St. Bartholomew's Church in Knin, and his kingdom was taken over by Ladislaus, his wife's brother.[47]

– Another piece also sometimes mentioned among the sources bearing features of the original implementation of the legend of Zvonimir's death is *Catalogus ducem et regum Dalmatie et Croatie*. This text is a compilation in which an attempt was made to accord the legendary matter with the findings of early-modern historians about the crusades and the circumstances of King Zvonimir receiving the crown.[48] Šišić believed that the catalogue was made around 1720.[49] The narrative contained in it refers to two kings, both named "Zvonimir": the first, also known as Dmitar (i.e. Demetrius), received a crown from Pope Gregory VII and vowed loyalty to the Holy See; the other, also called Stefan, was killed by the Croats while preparing for the crusade, after already sending some of his troops.[50]

---

45 Text: Kurelac, "Povijesni zapis nazvan 'Anonimna Kronika'," pp. 369–374. (It may be mentioned that Morović's edition was based on a manuscript from Trogir, while Kurelac used another manuscript containing that fragment which he found in the Research Library in Zadar).

46 This suggests knowledge of Hungarian sources, Šišić, "O smrti hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira," pp. 24–25.

47 Text: *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, ed. Nada Klaić (Zagreb, 1972), p. 75.

48 Nada Klaić, "Problem Zvonimirove smrti u novijoj literaturi," *Historijski zbornik* 15 (1962), pp. 271–288.

49 Ferdo Šišić, *Priručnik ivora hrvatske historije*, vol. 1, part 1 (Zagreb, 1914), p. 128.

50 Text of *Catalogus*: Ferdo Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji," *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu* 13 (1914), pp. 90–93.

It can be added that Renaissance historiography, including the rich literature of Ragusa and Split, was already influenced by knowledge of the Croatian version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* with its characteristic description of events.[51]

An overview of the sources known today allows us to state that up to the fourteenth century, there is no information about the unnatural causes of Zvonimir's death.[52] The historical roots of this legend were seen in events dating as far back as the ninth century, when the leader of the uprising against the Franks, Prince Ljudevit, lost his life;[53] other scholars suggested that the source of the legend could be the murder of Zdeslav by Branimir,[54] or the murder of prince Miroslav by ban Pribina,[55] mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos;[56] while according to others, the legend, analysed in terms of the motifs used, had many common elements with the Serbian tradition of king-martyrs.[57] The best candidate for the historical inspiration of the described events, however, seems to be the last native king of Croatia: Peter, who fought against the Hungarians and died in the battle on the aforementioned mountain Gvozd.[58]

Damir Karbić suggested that the Šubić family was responsible for formulation and propagation of the tragic legend of Zvonimir in Dalmatia and Croatia.[59] In fact, he repeated slightly older speculations by Bratulić.[60] Such a hypothesis will seem more convincing if we remember that Živković linked

---

51 Miroslav Kurelac, "Kralj Zvonimir u starijoj hrvatskoj historiografiji," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki*, pp. 305–310.

52 Vladimir Košćak, "O smrti hrvatskog kralja Dmitra Zvonimira," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki*, pp. 223–224. There is also *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*, but it does not mention the name of Zvonimir.

53 Ignacy Rosner, *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Studyum krytyczne z historiografii średniowiecznej* (Krakow, 1886), p. 17.

54 See: Nemet, "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja," p. 85 – presenting various hypotheses on possible historical background of the legend.

55 Ante Jadrijević, "Smrt hrvatskih kraljeva Miroslava i Zvonimira," *Crkva u svijetu* 2 (1967), pp. 45–59; the hypothesis was formulated even earlier by Raimund F. Kaindl, *Studien zu den ungarischen Geschichtsquellen*, vol. 34 (Vienna, 1895), p. 37, note 3 – after: Grzesik, *Kronika węgiersko-polska*, p. 83.

56 *De administrando imperio*, chapter 31, pp. 150–151.

57 Jelka Ređep, "Ubistvo vladara kao problem žrtve," in *Ubistvo vladara*, pp. 299–302.

58 Ernest Świeżawski, *Zarysy badań krytycznych nad dziejami, historyjografiją i mitologiją do wieku XV*, part 1 (Warsaw, 1871), pp. 33–38.

59 Damir Karbić, "Šubici i dobri kralj Zvonimir. Prilog proučavanju legendi u politici hrvatskih velikaških obitelji," *900 godina Bašćanske ploče. Krčki zbornik* 42 (2000), pp. 271–280.

60 Bratulić, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," p. 239.

the creation of *Regnum Sclavorum* with Pavao Šubić's initiative. Karbić and Bratulić's concept, however, had different foundations to Živković's ideas. Karbić and Bratulić pointed to the alleged burial place of the king in Bribir, a property belonging to the Šubić family, and to the similarity of the royal epitaph to the inscription on the grave of the prince Mladen III Šubić, called "Croatorum clipeus fortis" [Strong shield of the Croats], who died of plague about 1348. Bratulić believed that both inscriptions could have been created in one studio.[61] Mladen's violent death, which interrupted the plan of returning the title of bans to the Bribir-based branch of the Šubić family, could be the reason for the bitter tone of the narrative about Zvonimir and the reference to the curse cast by him on the country.

3 King Zvonimir in the Croatian Version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

Analysing the historical background against which the legend of the murder of the king might be shaped, Ivo Goldstein distinguished three stages of its formation. According to him, the core of the narrative was the story of regicide; in the second stage, the tale was enriched with historical details; and in the third phase, individual historians added further points.[62]

The circumstances of the creation of the legend are not clear. Perhaps the first stage of its formation was influenced by accounts of some historical events that, as we have shown, were variously identified by historians. The second stage could include the motif of the call for the crusade, present in most variants of the legend, as the indirect cause of the king's death.[63] Peter Rokay showed that the motif of the ruler's "uncompleted" crusade occurred in various contexts in records from all over Europe in the High Middle Ages. Interestingly, from the mid-fourteenth century, the motif of an intended and

61 Bratulić, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," p. 239.

62 Ivo Goldstein, "Kako, kada i zašto je nastala legenda o nasilnoj smrti kralja Zvonimira? (Prinos proučavanju mehanizma nastajanja legendi u hrvatskom sredjovjekovnom društvu)," *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 17 (1984), no. 1, pp. 35–54.

63 Thomas the Archdeacon did not know such a motif related to the figure of any Croatian ruler although he was an advocate of crusades, and the idea of such expeditions was popular in Dalmatia since the First Crusade: Hrvoje Gračanin, Igor Razum, "Toma Arhiđakon i križarstvo," *Povijest u nastavi* 10 (2014), no. 19, pp. 45–64.

uncompleted expedition to the Holy Land appeared in Croatia and Hungary in connection with the figure of the Hungarian King Ladislaus I.[64]

It is possible that certain details of the account known from the Croatian text could have been inspired by *The First Slavic Legend of St. Wenceslaus*. Although in the case of King Vladimir's story, the direct influence of the hagiography of Wenceslaus should be considered problematic,[65] but in the context of Zvonimir's story the probability of such a filiation seems much greater. The cult of St. Wenceslaus was widespread in the circles of Slavic literature in Croatia from the beginning of the eleventh century.[66] Copies of *The First Slavic Legend* were preserved there in Glagolitic breviaries.[67] If we assume that the basis for the legend of Zvonimir in the Croatian version came from this circle, it would help to clarify some textual similarities between the two narratives.

Edward Hercigonja noticed that that Zvonimir's story and the Slavic text about Wenceslaus share not only superficial convergences of the description, but also certain details in the way they are written. The general similarities were manifested in the fact that the authors of both narratives praised the rulers for their contribution to the Church. In both cases the kings were killed on the stairs of the temple. And more importantly, rhetorical comparisons of the killers to Jews appeared in both texts.[68] Hercigonja juxtaposed the characteristics of the Czechs from the Glagolitic account of the death of Wenceslaus: "Razgrděvše se češci muži, i djavlu juže vložšu v srce jih, jakože drěvlje v srce Judi prědatelja Gospodinja, vstaše že na gospoda svojego Većeslava jakože Judeji na Hrsta Gospoda" (The Czechs became angry and the devil penetrated their hearts, as he had penetrated the heart of Judas, the betrayer of the Lord, so they rose against their lord Wenceslaus, like the Jews had risen against Christ the Lord), or "Jakože drěvlje snidoše se Židove misleće na Hrsta tako i si zali psi …" (As the Jews in the past [had attacked] Christ, they did so in the same way, like dogs …),[69] with the description of the Croats in the Croatian version

64 Petar Rokay, "Motiv neostvarenog križarskog rata u biografijama srednjovjekovnih evropskih vladara," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki*, pp. 241–247.

65 There is little knowledge of possible political and cultural relations of the Principality of Duklja with its northern neighbours; its alleged links with Croatia in the second half of the eleventh century were discussed by Ivan Kampuš, "Duklja u Zvonimirovo vrijeme – utjecaj i veze," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki*, pp. 255–260.

66 Nastalska-Wiśnicka, *Rex martyr*, p. 28.

67 Bratulić, "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru," pp. 235–236.

68 Eduard Hercigonja, *Srednjovjekovna književnost, Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, vol. 2 (Zagreb, 1975), p. 410; also: Nikica Kolumbić, "Hrvatska književnost romaničkog razdoblja i lik kralja Zvonimira," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, pp. 221–222.

69 Quotation after the Croatian-Glagolitic version included in: Vatroslav Jagić, "Analecta Romana III," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903), pp. 13, 15.

of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*: “da oni Bogom kleti počeše kričati i vikati na svetoga kralja, tužeći se i vapijuti jednim glasom, kako na Isukrsta Židove” (and they, the God-damned [Croats], began to shout and cry out to the holy king, complaining and howling with one voice, as the Jews did to Jesus Christ) and “I tako počeše vapiti kakono Židove vapiše na Isukrsta” (And they began to yell, just as the Jews yelled at Christ).[70] The similarity of these verses is so striking that it can actually prove the influence of the legend of the Czech duke on the details of the relevant parts of the legend of Zvonimir’s death.

The connection between this narrative and Glagolitic literature could also be indicated by the date of the fall of the last Croatian monarch mentioned in it: 1079, ten years earlier than could be expected in this place. The scholars tried to explain this difference by blaming the error of a copyist, who interpreted the letter “Ⱁ” (expressing the sound “o”), denoting 80 in the Glagolitic numerical system, as Cyrillic “o”, denoting 70.[71]

Unlike some narratives with clearer features of hagiography, such as the aforementioned legend of King Vladimir, in which the piety of the martyr-to-be was often emphasized, a fragment of the Croatian version proposes a different vision of the time of the reign of the last Croatian ruler. The author claimed that this period was a golden age: the land was fertile, people had plenty of gold and silver, and there was justice in social relations. The richness of the land radiated from the goodness of the ruler. According to the chronicler:

> I osta kraljem Zvonimir, koji počteni kralj, sin dobroga spomenutja, poče crkve veoma čtovati i ljubiti. I poče dobre pomagati, a progoniti zale. I bi od svih dobrih poljubljen, a od zalih nenavijen, jer ne mogaše zla viditi. I tako ne biše on za Hrvate, zašto oni ne će biti dobrotom dobiti, da, bolji su pod strahom. I za dobroga kralja Zvonimira biše vesela sva zemlja, jere biše sva puna i urešena svakoga dobra, i gradovi puni srebra i zlata. I ne bojaše se ubogi, da ga izji bogati, i nejaki da mu vazme jaki, ni sluga da mu učini nepravo gospodin. Jere kralj svih branjaše, zašto ni samo prezpravedno ne posi[do]vaše, tako ni inim ne dadiše. I tako veliko bogactvo biše, tako u Zagorje, kako u Primorje, za pravednoga kralja Zvonimira. I biše puna zemlja svakoga blaga, i biše veće vridna ureha na ženah i mladih ljudih, i na konjih, ner i nada sve imanje. I zemlja Zvonimirova biše obilna svakom razkošom, ni se nikogar bojaše, ni jim nitkore mogaše nauditi,

70 *Ljetopis*, p. 67.

71 Bratulić, “Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru,” p. 239. Scholars tried to find similar phenomena in the context of the difference between periods of rule of Svetopelek and Budimir (see: Chapter 4).

> razmi gnjiv gospodina boga, koji dojde svrhu ostatka njih, kako pismo govori: Oci zobaše kiselo groždje, a sinovom zubi utrnuše.[72]
>
> (And Zvonimir became the king, worthy of respect, a son of the well-remembered [king], who loved and respected the Church. And he began to help the good ones and chased the evil ones away. And he was loved by all the good [people], and hated by the evil [people], because he could not bear seeing iniquity. That is why he was not for the Croats, because they are not be tamed by kindness, but are better [when they are ruled] by fear. And at the time of the good King Zvonimir, the land rejoiced because it was abundant and full of all good, and cities [were] full of silver and gold. And the poor were not afraid that they would be gormandized by the rich, and the weak [were not afraid] that they would be looted by the mighty, and servants [were not afraid] that their masters would do them iniquity. Because the king defended everyone, he did not make injustices and did not let others do so. And there was a great wealth in Zagorje and in Primorje during the time of the righteous King Zvonimir. And the land was full of treasures, and the women were more adorned, as were young people, horses and all kinds of property. And the land of Zvonimir was calm, no one was afraid of anything, no one could harm it, except for the wrath of God who would come after them all, as the Scriptures say: 'The parents have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge' [Jer 31:29]).

The fact that the golden age of the kingdom did not happen at a time closer to its origin is rather peculiar. This is an indirect argument in favour of the assumption that Zvonimir's story had first functioned as an independent text and was then added to the Croatian version. If that was the case, then this type of independent narrative was edited in such a way as to fit the general concept of the author of the Croatian variant of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* – the chronicler preceded the end of the state with the description of the paradisiac period to make the fall seem even more acute. Applying such a stylistic device, he clearly presented those who were guilty of the catastrophe.

To emphasize the continuity of historical processes, the author of the Croatian text used the topos of the "good king". It fits perfectly with the previous fragments of this story. We have already mentioned a significant difference between the Croatian and Latin texts as far as the assessment of Radoslav's reign is concerned. In the Croatian version of the narrative, the king had the

72 *Ljetopis*, pp. 66–67.

features of a good ruler, and this epithet was even given to him directly. On the other hand, in *Regnum Sclavorum*, the author's opinion of the king – deprived of his reign – was not so unequivocally favourable.

In the Croatian text, the circumstances in which Radoslav was exiled are commented upon in a way which – especially in the context of subsequent events – becomes even more important. The king is dethroned by his son: "s nevirnimi Hrvati, koji vazda bolji su bili prid strahom i potomiji pod silom, nere vladani dobrotom dobrimi" (with the unfaithful Croats, who are always better and more humble when governed by fear and force than by kindness).[73] Importantly, the anonymous author later recalled these incidents when he reported the attack of "the unfaithful Croats" on Zvonimir: "I toj čuvše bogom prokleti i nevirni Hrvati, ki ne mnogo prija daše pomoć hudobnom sinu dobroga njih gospodina kralja Radoslava iz kraljestva njegova izgnati i s oružnom rukom s nemilostivim sinom njegovim iz zemlje prognati …" ([and] hearing this, the God-cursed and unfaithful Croats, who not so long before had helped the mean son to chase their good King Radoslav away from the kingdom, and who, with armed forces, together with his ruthless son, banished him from his own land …).[74] Thus, the narrative repeats the story of the exile of a "good" ruler by his subjects who were unaware of the consequences of such an act. Therefore, the Croats' guilt was replicated cyclically in this story. However, in order to find the sources of the sin, we must return not only to the beginning of the story in the Croatian text, but also to the beginning of the narrative of *Regnum Sclavorum*: to the well-known description of the attack of the Goths on Dalmatia.

4 Zvonimir and Vladimir: the King-Martyrs in the Narrative of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

The motif of sin is deeply rooted in the structure of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, but only the Croatian text used it with all consistency.[75] During the invasion of the Goths, it was the hidden guilt of the Christians that determined their defeat. As we may remember, in both versions, the king of Dalmatians and ruler of Istria opposed the Goths. The author of the Latin version later identified the invaders with the Slavs. For the author of the Croatian text, the role

73 *Ljetopis*, p. 62.

74 *Ljetopis*, p. 67.

75 About the place the sin in Croatian version of *The Chronicle*, see: W. Kowalski, "Wielkie zło i herezje Eutychesa," pp. 53–67.

of the Croats in this episode was probably not clear. We learn that they took part in the struggle, but it is possible that they were the allies of the defeated Christians ("i mnogo tisuć krstjani po dobitju bi pod mač obraćeno i vele Hrvat bi pobijeno"[76] (and many thousands of Christians went under the blade of the sword, and many Croats were killed). In such an interpretation, the Croats participated in Christian sin at the beginning of the work, which would be a logical continuation at the end of the story, where – in two episodes, Radoslav's exile and Zvonimir's murder – the Croats were depicted as villains.

Traces of a similar interpretation of history are barely visible in *Regnum Sclavorum*. It does not include Zvonimir's story, which would have made the Slavs responsible for the ruin of the kingdom. The Priest of Duklja did not blame them collectively for exiling Radoslav; from the point of view of the chronicler, without this event Pavlimir Bello would not later be able to renew and improve the Kingdom of the Slavs. The author of *Regnum Sclavorum* also wrote about the Christian sin at the time of Totila and Ostroil's invasion, yet in the introduction he mentioned the heresy of Eutyches, thus he directed the suspicions regarding the nature of the sin elsewhere.

The motif of regicide and the punishment of the Croatians by a barbarian ruler appeared, as we have seen, in *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*, a work which must be considered distant when it comes to its origins. The legend it includes is very coherent: the murder of the king was avenged by Attila-Aquila, who acted as "the scourge of God" and, as the narrative suggested, as the executor of divine justice. The narrative structure of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* was similar to the one we know from the Croatian text, although it should be considered much more coherent when observing the chronological sequence of events. *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* maintains the casual construction of the narrative, while the Croatian text first mentions the undefined sin of the Croats at the beginning of the story, and then repeats it at the end; here we also learn about the nature of their guilt. Each time, however, the sin brought tragic results: first, the invasion of the Goths, then, the decline of the state and, as a consequence, the seizure of power by the Hungarians.

Besides the narrative convergence, some details of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* regarding the motif of the barbaric invasion are confusingly similar to the details of the Goth attack known from both versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. The circumstances in which the battle takes place appear to be strikingly close. As we may remember, *Regnum Sclavorum* and the Croatian text agreed that the Goths were confronted by two subjects: the Dalmatians and the inhabitants of Istria. Both accounts mentioned that the battle lasted

---

76 *Ljetopis*, p. 42.

precisely eight days,[77] and that its outcome, expressed explicitly, was decided by God as a form of punishment for the hidden sin of the Christians. These three characteristic elements are also present in the account of Aquila's invasion provided by the author of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*:

> … et venit [Aquila] in terminos Chrvatiae et Sclavoniae inter fluvios Savam et Dravam: ibique occurrerunt ei principes Chrvatiae et Sclavoniae, et direxerunt acies, et refulsit sol in clypeos aureos, et replenduerunt montes ab eis et fecerunt conflictum magnum octo diebus: traddit autem eos Deus in manum aquillae regis propter regnum eorum Casimirum, quem tradiderunt, et turpiter occiderunt: caesi sunt autem Sclavi et Chrvati, alii fugerunt, alii in captivitatem ducti sunt.[78]

> (… and [Aquila] reached the borders of Croatia and Slavonia (Sclavonia), between the rivers Sava and Drava: there the princes of Croatia and Slavonia stood against him, and sent the troops; sunlight reflected on the shields of gold, and the mountains became bright, and they began the great battle, that lasted eight days. Therein God gave them into the hands of King Aquila because of their King Casimir, whom they betrayed and shamefully killed. The Slavs and Croats were killed, others fled, others were taken prisoner.)

It would correspond with the following fragment in *Regnum Sclavorum*:

> Octavo vero die omnes hinc inde hristiani, et gentiles, armati exierunt, et commissum est magnum proelium ab hora diei tertia, usque ad vesperam, et Dei iudicio, cui nemo audet dicere, cur ita faciat, quia forte aliquod magnum peccatum latebat in Christianis, victoriam Gothi crudeles habuerunt, ceciditque pars Christianorum et interfectus est rex Istriae, et multa milia hominum Christianorum in ore gladii mortua sunt et plurima captiva ducta sunt.[79]

77 As it was noticed by C. A. Macartney, *The Medieval Hungarian historians*, pp. 177–178.

78 *Kronika węgierskopolska*, ed. Stanisław Pilat, MPH vol. 1, pub. August Bielowski (Lviv, 1864), p. 497.

79 *Ljetopis*, pp. 42–43. The Croatian text is longer and reads as follows: "I tako osmi dan krstjane i rečeni pogane oružase se i opraviše na rečenu rvanju i počeše boj osmi dan meju sobom pokli ne staše s jutra prija tri deri po večernjoj biše se tvrdom i nemilostivom rvanjom jednakim bojem meju sobom s mnoštvom mrtac jedne i druge strane, ne znajući se do togaj vrimena, komu bi se mogajo veće bojati, zašto nijedna od stran ne ustupaše, i biše viditi, da su boj počeli, zašto jednih i druzih živi dohojahu na misto ubijenih. Dali u jedan čas, tomu nitko ne sumnjeće, nere po volji onogaj, komu nitkor ne more reći, zašto takoj učini, oni Goti nemilostivi dobiše, je da si kroz niki grih, koji tada u krstjaneh

> (Then, within eight days, and because the camps were close to each other, the warriors, coming from everywhere, were injuring each other and killing each other. On the eighth day all the warriors of both sides, the Christians and the pagans, went forth and fought a great battle, which lasted from mid-morning to before sunset. And by God's will, which no one dares to ask why this is so, the cruel Goths won, perhaps because some great evil was hidden among the Christians. And the king of Istria was killed, and many thousands of Christians died by the sword, and many were abducted as prisoners.)

There are also narrative similarities between the three discussed plots as far as highlighting the role of Salona is concerned. Both variants of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* mention Salona as the seat of the king of the Dalmatians, who escaped there (fatally wounded according to the Croatian version) after he lost the battle. On the other hand, *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* emphasized the significance of the nearby city of Split: "rex vero Sclavoniae et Chrvatiae circa mare delectabatur in civitate quae Sipleth dicitur" (the king of Sclavonia and the seaside [region of] Croatia took a liking to the city, which is called Split).[80] Gunjača saw this as a reflection of the real role played in the eleventh century by Salona and Split, its successor, situated near the site of the coronation of historical Zvonimir.[81] Even if the author of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* had no knowledge of Dalmatian realities, this detail was probably an important element of some original narrative on which he based his text. Although Radojčić supposed that the anonymous chronicler's source were legends of Attila's conquests popular in Hungary,[82] the amazing persistence

pribivaše; i prez izma bi pobijena strana krstjanska i ubijen bi kralj istrinski i mnogo tisuć krstjani po dobitju bi pod mač obraćeno i vele Hrvat bi pobijeno". (And so for eight days the Christians and the said pagans fought and were engaged in the said struggle, and began the battle on the eighth day between them, from the morning, before the third hour, until the evening, they fought hard and without mercy, in an even combat between them with the multitude of the fallen on one side and the other, not knowing at that time who could win, therefore neither side gave way, and it was seen that the [true] battle had begun, and on both sides the living were replacing those who were killed. But at one point, no doubt in that, in accordance with the will of the one, about whom no one can say why he did so, these ruthless Goths have overcome, because of some sin which was then on the side of the Christians. And because of this the Christian side was beaten and the Istrian king was killed and many thousands of Christians fell under the sword and many Croats were killed).

80 *Kronika węgierskopolska*, p. 498 (In the shorter version of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* this fragment does not occur).

81 Gunjača, "Kako i gdje je završio hrvatski kralj Dimitrije Zvonimir," p. 270.

82 Radojčić, "Legenda o smrti hrvatskog kralja Dimitrije Zvonimira," pp. 51–55.

of the discussed details allows us to presume the existence of a certain old document that came to the Árpáds' court from Croatia or Dalmatia.

Assuming the presence of the literary tradition that made it possible to transmit the legend into *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* as well as into *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* entails a huge interpretive mystery. First, in what shape did the information reach Hungary? It is difficult to suppose that it was a Glagolitic text; it was rather written in Latin. Second, what was the relationship between this tradition and the story of the fall of Salona? The motif of Aquila seems typically Hungarian, but it appears that the form in which it entered the different versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* did not allow their authors to identify the invader's commander as Attila the Hun or as Hungarian, but as Totila, the Goth's chieftain. Finally, in the Croatian text, the description of Zvonimir's murder seems to be a later addition. Why is it so, since the legend of the invasion as the divine punishment was intrinsically linked to the motif of the king's death?

The problem of the Croatian tradition of regicide is also important for our understanding of the vision of history presented by *Regnum Sclavorum*, and above all for understanding the place of Vladimir, another king-martyr. Admittedly, there are some hints in the Latin variant of the text suggesting that a certain narrative linking the barbarian invasion with the murder of the ruler was known to the author. However, the Priest of Duklja changed the meaning of the narrative and adapted it to the general interpretation of the kingdom's history. Above all, the divine plan of punishing the inhabitants of Dalmatia was executed by the Goths-Slavs, but there is no mention of any Slavs fighting on the Christian side, and hence inheriting the enigmatic sin. Consequently, the figure of Vladimir, a king-martyr, appearing in the second part of *Regnum Sclavorum*, as was previously mentioned, served different purposes: it was a foreign ruler (Vladislav of Bulgaria) who was to be blamed for the king's death, and not his own subjects burdened with some old guilt. The legend justified the Priest of Duklja's decision to "transfer" the centre of the kingdom to the south and to describe its territorial decrease, but not the definite end of the realm. The chronicler, who counted the subjects of the kingdom among the victims, not the slayers, presented the image of the community which stands by the monarch. The political crisis was, according to him, caused by foreign intervention.

The existence of the account of *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle*, combining the motifs of the invasion and regicide, allows us to see differently the process of the formation of the structure of the text and the differences in the narrative layer of both versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*. We already

know from the note in the margin of *Supetar Cartulary* that an account situating the figures of Svetopelek and Zvonimir on opposite ends of the Croatian royal lineage was known in the Adriatic region. The Croatian text, to some extent, invokes both elements of this tradition: the motif of Zvonimir might have been added later, but it was a reasonable completion of the narrative, while Svetopelek appeared in the Croatian variant only in the obscure term "kralj Svetog-puka" and was replaced by the figure of Budimir. The form of the Croatian text, in the version known to us today, shows some features of a translation, but in the case of the story of sin, it is more coherent as a narrative. If we consider the legend of Zvonimir as an integral part of this story, the question arises of why it is absent in the Latin text. The link between the fragment and the Glagolitic script is also unclear. Perhaps the author of the Croatian text, translating his text from Latin, decided to change the motif of regicide, modelling it after a more extensive pattern known to him from the Slavic literature. This would explain some distinct features of the Zvonimir episode in connection with its simultaneous adaptation to the earlier parts of this version of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*.

On the other hand, *Regnum Sclavorum* has no linking element such as the legend of regicide which indirectly explains the invasion of the Goths. The Priest of Duklja did not present the history of the described realm in the frame of the reign of Svetopelek and Zvonimir. This would support a hypothesis of a long period of formation for the Latin text known today; in the narrative moment of Radoslav's exile, the Priest of Duklja abandoned the Croatian legend and introduced to his tale fragments of tradition from the southern parts of the region – from the vicinity of Ragusa, and then from Duklja. This would explain the change in the sense of the story of the sin of the Christians. The legend of Vladimir in *Regnum Sclavorum* is to some extent equivalent to the motif of Zvonimir; it is possible that the appearance of this type of legend in this place was inspired by knowledge of the Croatian variant of the text. Vladimir's story woven into *Regnum Sclavorum* could then fill the gap which would result from omitting some of the Croatian traditions. However, the legend of regicide passed on the Priest of Duklja had quite different functions: it did not explain the reasons for the fall of the state, but rather showed how Vladimir's attitude helped the kingdom to survive in changed geopolitical conditions. The theme of sin and guilt, so important in the Croatian text, was marginalized in *Regnum Sclavorum*; it was the Bulgarian Tsar who was responsible for the tragedy of Vladimir and led to the ruler's revenge, whereas Zvonimir's curse was targeted at his own subjects, and his death ended the rule of Croatian kings and enabled the "foreign" dynasty to take over the kingdom.

5 Summary

In both basic versions of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (Latin and Croatian), the legend of regicide plays an important part. At the end of the Croatian text, we find information about Zvonimir's murder by his own subjects. Rhetorical devices used in this passage allow to suppose that the author of this narrative knew the Slavic legend of St. Wenceslaus, and the error in the date suggests that the text could belong to Glagolitic literature. Also, the language layer of the indicated motif suggests that it was added later to this text. On the other hand, the legend in the shape known from *The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* indicates the existence of a tradition that links the murder of the king with the punishment in the form of an invasion into Dalmatia by the barbarians.[83] The Croatian text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* may contain a trace of this narrative. The text itself, in the shape known to us today, has some features of translation; it is possible that the original story of regicide was enriched in the translation with elements of Slavic narrative, hence the differences demonstrated by the philological analysis of the passage.

Did the author of the Latin version replace some narrative motifs with the legend of St. Vladimir? It is possible. *Regnum Sclavorum* begins with the reference to the guilt of the Christians and the punishment in the form of a barbaric invasion. The Priest of Duklja tried to explain the historical purpose of the events, mentioning the flaw of Eutychian heresy. In this respect, the two versions of the text are fundamentally different. The author of *Regnum Sclavorum* interpreted the legend of the destruction of Dalmatian cities by means of polemic references to the motifs of heresy or the sin of the inhabitants of the coast (known to Thomas the Archdeacon), which would be the reason for the barbarians' assault. The author of the Croatian text interpreted it differently: in his work, from the beginning, attempts were made to emphasize the Croats' responsibility for the fall of the kingdom. On this basis we can conclude that the narrative structure of *Regnum Sclavorum* is – in relation to the above-mentioned elements – more heterogeneous, and the way in which particular layers of the work were combined indicates an intentional action by the author who sought to modify the overall meaning.

83 The narrative in the form used in the chronicle would represent the Hungarian point of view of the conquest of Croatia and Dalmatia. Interestingly, perhaps it could also be associated with another protagonist of this book, known from previous chapters: Svatopluk. The motif of the marriage of Aquila-Attila with the daughter of the Slav prince (*princeps Sclauorum*) and his people with Slavic and Croatian women, reminded the story of the marriage of the daughter of Menumorout, the "Great Moravian", with Zolta, the son of Árpád. So the variant of this legend could also be a story about the interconnection of two peoples. See: Grzesik, "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna," p. 98.

Conclusion

More than thirty years ago, Jan Leśny described *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* as "controversial", but also added that "historians from Yugoslavia (and not only them) consider this work to be equally important to *Gesta principum Polonorum* by Gallus Anonymus in Poland, *Chronica Boemorum* by Cosmas in Czechia, and *The Tale of Bygone Years* for East Slavic academic circles".[1]

Many things have changed since this publication. Yugoslavia ceased to exist, and the tragic events that affected the Balkans also had an impact on the development of local historical research, sometimes completely altering interpretations of the past. In the case of *Regnum Sclavorum*, however, several things did not change: the work is still controversial and still occupies an important place in the collective memory of the Bosnians, Croats, Montenegrins and Serbs. Presenting the vast amount of literature on the subject, we attempted to bear in mind its narrative character; to be aware of the presence of fiction in this non-fictional discourse, because, as White claimed "everyone who writes a narration fictionizes".[2]

The belief that "once an image has been brought into existence, it is public property"[3] was present too often in the polemics on *Regnum Sclavorum*, hence the accumulation of ideas, symbols and hypotheses about this work resembles some of the fantastic palimpsests described by the author of the above quotation, Jorge Luis Borges. If we are allowed to make a small, though illustrative, digression, it is possible that Borges described the process of devising the past most cleverly when he looked at the following fragment of the classic work of Edward Gibbon: "After the departure of the Goths, and the separation of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast silence that reigned over the plains of Chalons". This seemingly general style, as Borges argued, in fact proposes an entire set of symbols ("After the departure of the Goths") and barely perceptible metaphors ("Attila was surprised at the vast silence").[4] The reader of the present work should also remember that the text presented in it is not an exception in this matter, and that it presents a certain interpretative key ordered in accordance with the academic requirements of historical prose.

1 Leśny, *Historia Królestwa Słowian*, p. 8.

2 Ewa Domańska, "Biała Tropologia: Hayden White i teoria pisarstwa historycznego," *Teksty Drugie: teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* 2 (1994), vol. 26, p. 163.

3 Jorge L. Borges, "The Postulation of Reality," in idem, *Selected Non-fictions*, ed. Eliot Weinberg, trans, Esther Allen, Suzanne Jill Levine, Eliot Weinberger (New York, 1999), p. 61.

4 Borges, "The Postulation of Reality," p. 59.

DOI:10.1163/9789004447639_009

The new interpretation of *Regnum Sclavorum* we propose here is based on the recognition of characteristic fragments of the text associated with the figures of model rulers. Although hundreds of pages have already been written about each of them, this approach is, as far as we know, original. In this work we were primarily concerned with the origin of images of fictitious rulers in the work by the Priest of Duklja, and the issues of provenance of *The Chronicle* itself and its authorship – so prevalent in literature on the subject – were pushed to the background. Each chapter was concluded with a separate summary; on the final pages let us repeat what we consider to be the most important of the findings in our work.

The first chapter is devoted to the account of the chieftains of the Goths given by the Priest of Duklja, especially the first two: Totila and Ostroil. The first part of this chronicle preserves a complex image in which one can find traces of older ethnogenetic legends (three brothers), as well as the legends of Attila, the leader of the Huns (although changed beyond all recognition). The description of the period after the arrival of the Goths in the work by the Priest of Duklja apparently corresponds with Thomas the Archdeacon's narration. Both chroniclers knew the tradition of the sin of the Christians (who were punished for it by an invasion of barbarians) and of the fall of Salona. Both were repeating information about the heresy, but in *Regnum Sclavorum* its essence was not connected with Slavic liturgy. The Priest of Duklja linked the Goths with the birth of the Kingdom of the Slavs, although he did not use the term "king" in reference to the first two rulers. The positive image of Totila and Ostroil resulted from the power that allowed the barbarian chieftains to conquer Dalmatia, and thus to fulfil a part of the divine plan. Nevertheless, in his description of the next rulers of the Gothic dynasty, the chronicler pointed to their pagan religion, which prevented the sustainable development of the state.

Baptism was necessary to make this development happen. The impact of the Great Moravian tradition is evident in the motifs concerning Svetopelek's conversion. Constantine, the missionary, is initially the main figure, though in the second part of the discussed passage, the plot focuses on the king, who completed the function of the actual founder of the community who reconciled the Slavs and the Latins during the synod in Dalma, the symbolic centre of the state. This motif might be a part of the broader Dalmatian tradition of a dynasty founder (which is probably evidenced by the expression "from Svetopelek to Zvonimir" in the margin of *Supetar Cartulary*); it also included elements of the legends of coastal cities as the heirs of the ancient Dalmatian centres.

The next ruler described in *Regnum Sclavorum*, Pavlimir Bello, performed three significant functions within the narration of the chronicle. Within the frames of interpretation of the dynasty's history proposed by the Priest of Duklja, Pavlimir is above all a restorer of the Slavic Kingdom. His actions correspond to those taken by Časlav, the usurper, as their reverse – in this way Pavlimir removes the curse from his realm. Another narrative task for this character is revealed during the construction of Ragusa. This motif is a fragment of the local tradition of the birth of the city, but it was creatively arranged by the Priest of Duklja to emphasize the role of a king. In this passage Pavlimir is a representative of the Romans, a hero returning from overseas, moving the community in a new direction, and finally, he is the one who consolidates the Latins and the Slavs. A later part of the narrative implements the description of Pavlimir's deeds realized in reference to the model of *rex bellicosus* and a special set of topoi associated with the story of Alexander the Great. There are many indications that this part was composed later than the rest of the work and was added to *Regnum Sclavorum* as a result of the impact of local traditions from Dubrovnik near the end of the Middle Ages, or possibly even later.

King Vladimir can be considered to be the last ruler of the breakthrough period. It is not clear whether this part of the narrative was previously an independent work. Even if that were the case, it was integrated into the matter of *Regnum Sclavorum* to subordinate the text to the vision of history proposed by the Priest of Duklja. In this concept, King Vladimir represented the rulers of the state of a different centre of gravity and changed political ambition. Such a presentation was a break with the hitherto image of the Kingdom of the Slavs in its ideal, broader boundaries. However, the links between the story of Vladimir and the later hagiography of St. Jovan Vladimir are not entirely clear. References to the motifs known from the Priest of Duklja's narrative (above all: Vladimir and Kosara) can also be sought in the works of Byzantine historians, but first and foremost, they should be seen in the popularity of some topoi of the Old Testament story of Joseph. The model of a king-martyr itself shows some similarities to the notions about the deaths of rulers known from the periphery of Christian Europe.

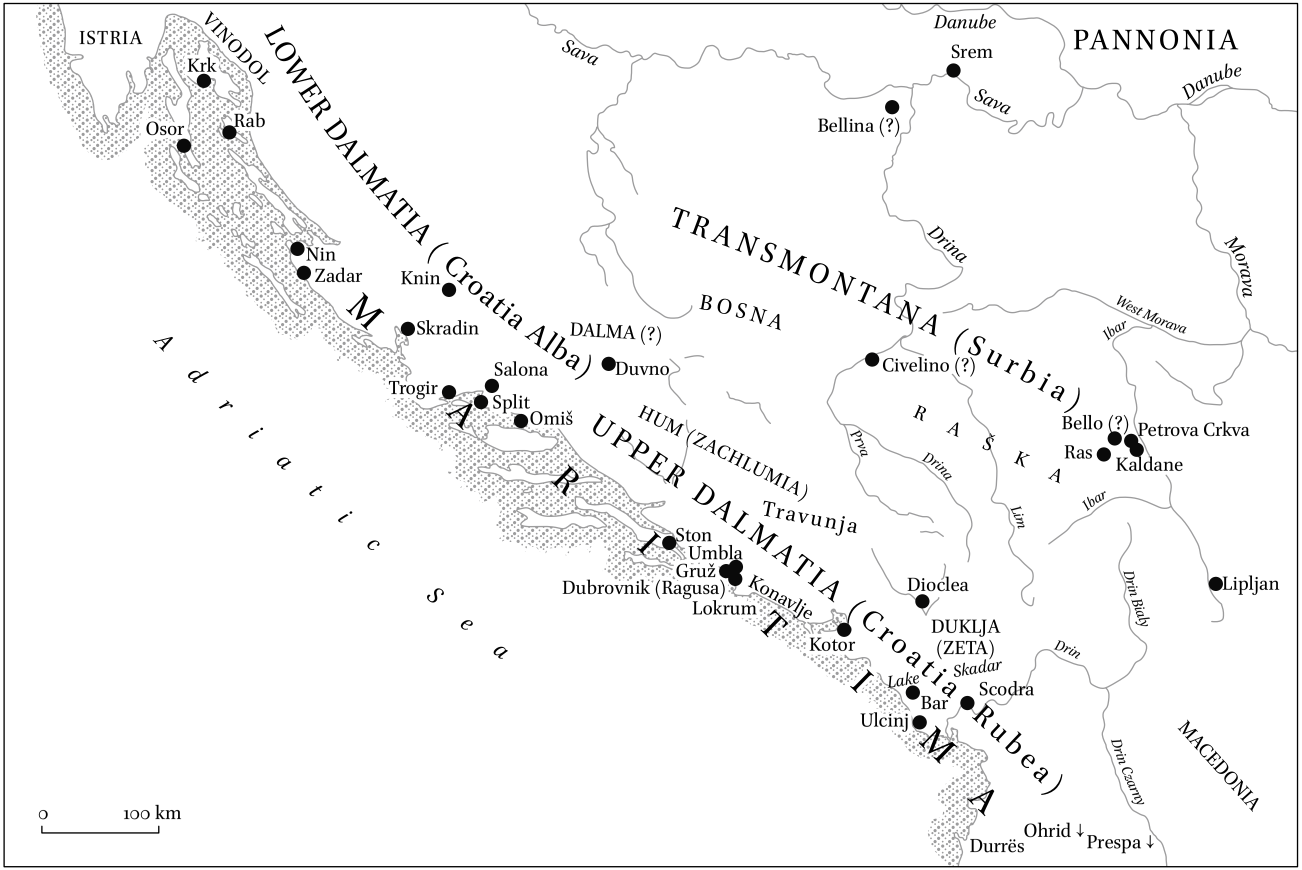
This study ends with the excursus, in which we analyse whether the ending of the Croatian text of *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* (the story of King Zvonimir's murder) may indicate differences in understanding the purposefulness of the history of the described kingdom in both basic versions of the work. While at the start of his narrative, the Priest of Duklja referred rather to the Dalmatian tradition of the destruction of coastal cities in response to the sin of heresy, the author of the Croatian text situated the invasion of the Goths

within a more complex narrative of regicide. We also know a similar story from the *Polish-Hungarian Chronicle* and a number of subsequent sources. Such differences in the approach of the two discussed authors have evident consequences for understanding the concept of community; in *Regnum Sclavorum* there is no recurrent motif of the Slavs' guilt, unlike in the Croatian version, in which the Croats themselves become responsible for the fall of the native dynasty.

In the nineteenth century, Kukuljević Sakcinski gave the scholars studying *The Chronicle of the Priest of Dukja* the task of separating the (non-historical) chaff from the (historical) wheat. Sakcinski was puzzled and asked: "how could anyone make such an effort to describe so many untrue and confused stories?".[5] Even more astonishing is the fact that for centuries, scholars have been struggling to extract new content from these narratives. In this book, we acknowledged that fiction is the seed of *Regnum Sclavorum*, yet it does not have to diminish the value of the chronicle. So we discussed the imaginary history, a fabulous tale, and attempted to show the topoi hidden behind it, the narrative concepts, the flow of tradition, and the possible consequences resulting from its directions. Within the framework of this work, we gave meaning to the events that, in common understanding, never really happened.

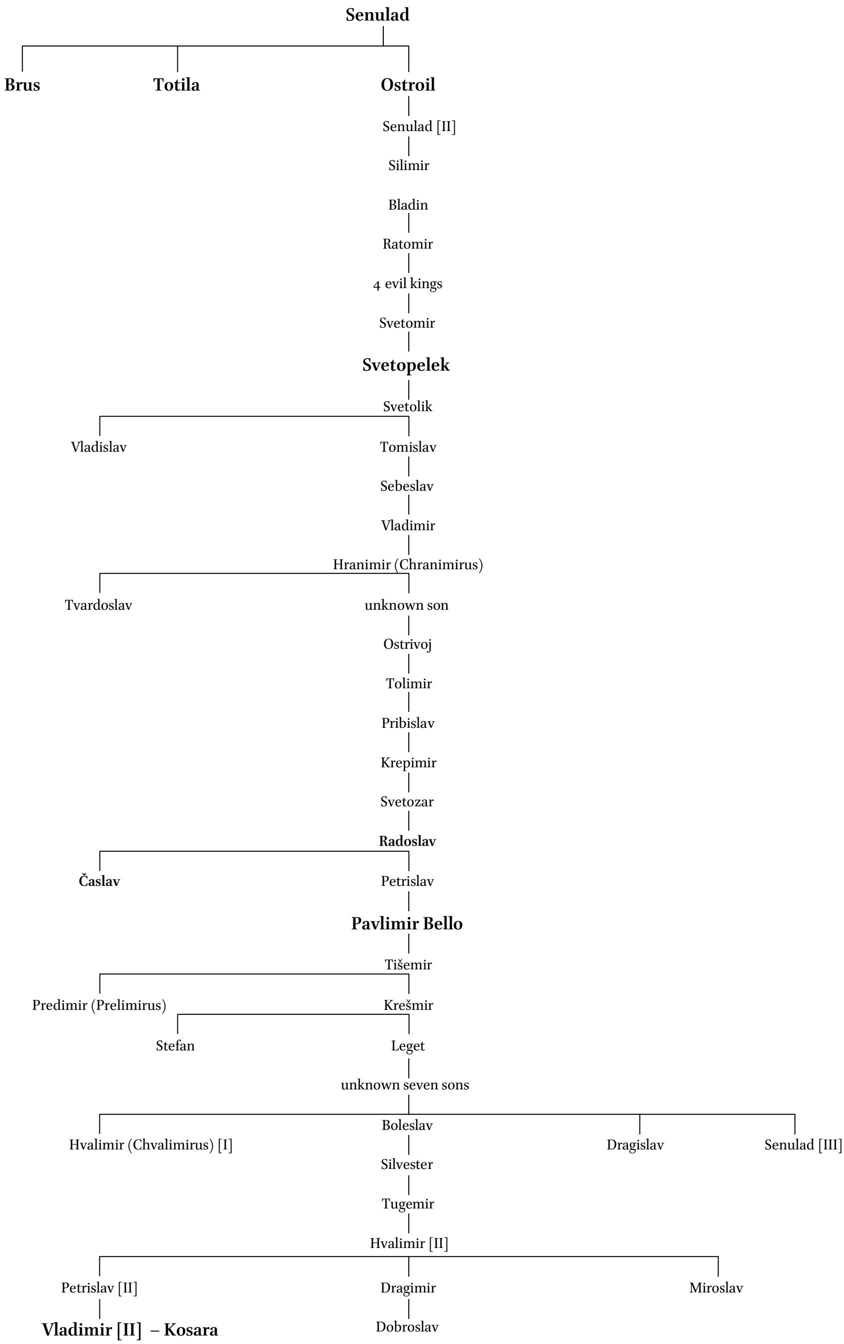
5 After: Šišić, *Letopis*, p. 31.

Map

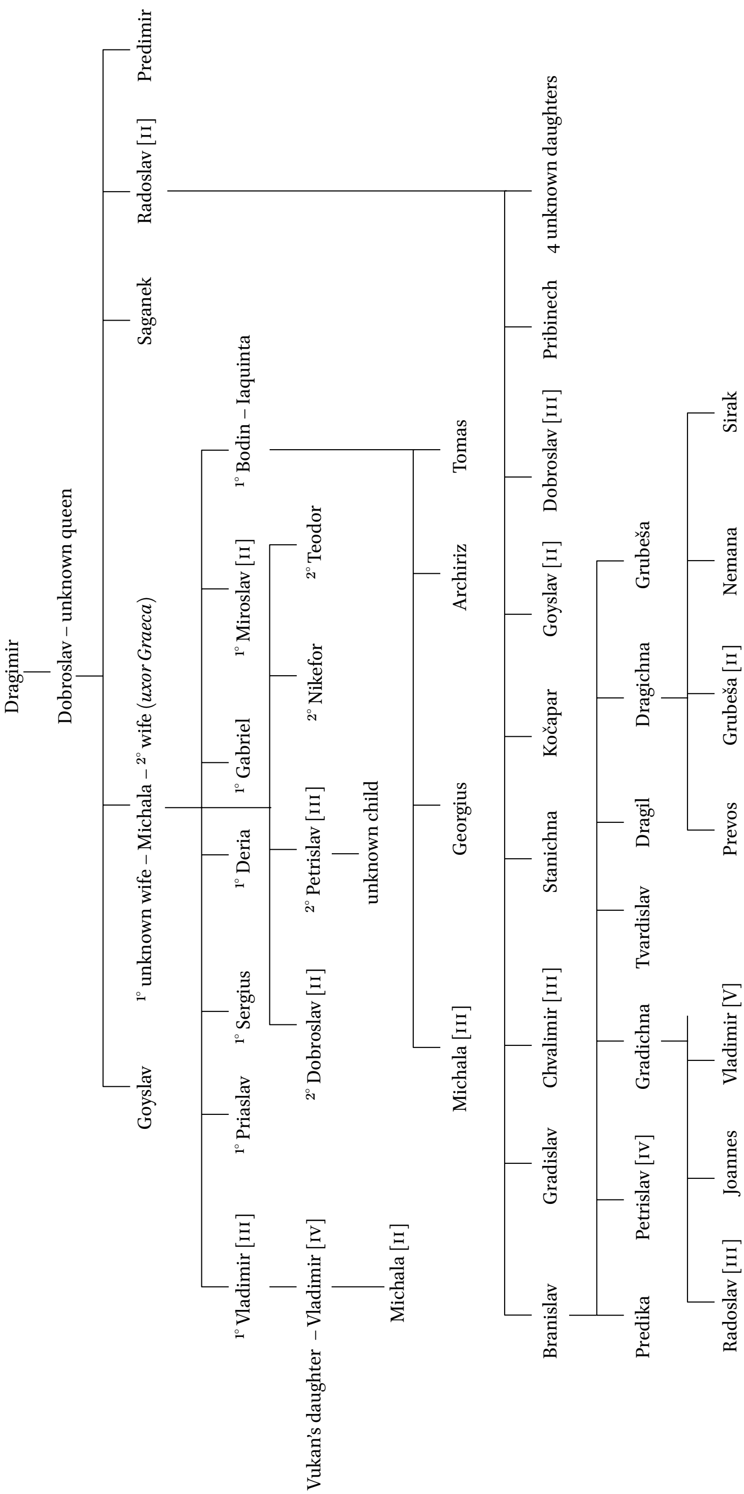


The Adriatic coast according to the Priest of Duklja

Family Trees



The genealogy of the legendary rulers in The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja, part 1



The genealogy of the legendary rulers in The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja, part 2

Bibliography

1 *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*

(Quoted editions and commentary in chronological order.)

Ioannis Lucii De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex. Amsterdam: apud Ioannem Blaeu, 1666.

Kronika hrvatska iz XII. věka, ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, *Arkiv za pověstnicu jugoslavensku* 1 (Zagreb, 1851): 1–37.

Dukljanskog presvitera kraljevstvo Slavena, ed. Jovan Subotić. *Serbskij letopis* vol. 88, 27 (Buda, 1853): 1–86.

Popa Dukljanina Lêtopis po latinsku i toga nekoliko i još nešto po hrvatsku po prepisu popa Jerolima Kaletića, ed. Ivan Črnčić. Kraljevica: Primorska tiskara, 1874.

Letopis popa Dukljanina, ed. Ferdo Šišić. Belgrade/Zagreb: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928.

Ljetopis popa Dukljanina, ed. Vladimir Mošin. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950.

Ljetopis popa Dukljanina. Uvod, prevod i komentar, ed. Slavko Mijušković. Belgrade: Prosveta. Srpska književna zadruga, 1988.

Historia Królestwa Słowian czyli Latopis Popa Dukljanina, trans. and ed. Jan Leśny. Warsaw: PWN, 1988.

Gesta regum Sclavorum, ed. Tibor Živković, vol. 1. Belgrade: Istorijski Institut. Manastir Ostrog, 2009.

"Regvm Dalmatię atque Croatię Gesta a Marco Marulo Spalatensi Patritio Latinitate Donata." ed. Neven Jovanović, *Colloquia Maruliana* 18 (2009): 30–61.

Popa Dukljanina Sclavorum Regnum. Kritičko izdanje, ed. Danilo Radojević. Cetinje: Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, 2016.

2 Sources

Adam of Bremen — *M Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, ed. Johann Martin Lappenberg. MGH SS vol. 7, 267–389. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1848.

Albert Milioli — *Alberti Millioli notarii regini Cronica imperatorum*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. MGH SS vol. 31, 580–667. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903.

Aleksandreida [Serbian *Alexander Romance*]	Vatroslav Jagić, "Ogledi stare hrvatske proze IV. Život Aleksandra Velikog." *Starine* 3 (1878): 208–336. Stojan Novaković, *Pripovetka o Aleksandru velikom u staroj srpskoj književnoti*. Glasnik srpskog učenog društva 9. Belgrade: U Državnoj štampariji, 1878.
Andrea Dandolo	*Andreae Danduli ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta,* ed. Ester Pastorello. Rerum Italicarum Scriptores. Raccolta degli Storici Italiani dal cinquecento al millecinquecento, ordinata da L. A. Muratori, vol. 12, part 1, eds. Giosue Cadrucci, Vittorio Fiorini, Pietro Fedele, 1–327. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1938. *Andreas Dandolo Chronicon Venetum*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 4, 421–422. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1971.
Annales Fuldenses	*Annales Fuldenses sive Annales regni Francorum orientalis*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. MGH SS rerum germanicarum vol. 7. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1891.
Annales Ragusini	*Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, ed. Speratus Nodilo [Natko Nodilo]. Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 14. Zagreb: Ex officina Sociatatis Typographicae, 1883. Makušev Vikentij, *Izsledovanija ob hisioričeskih pamjatrtikah i bitopisateljah Dubrovnika* [Макушев Викентий, *Исследования об исторических памятниках и бытописателях Дубровника*]. Sankt Petersburg: Imperatorskaja Akademija Nauk, 1867.
Anonymo Descriptio Europae Orientalis	*Anonymi Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, compiled by Tibor Živković, Vladeta Petrović, Alaksandar Uzelac, trans. Dragana Kunčer, ed. Srđan Rudić. Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2013.

Augustine Angelus de Stargardia — Augustyn ze Stargardu zwany niegdyś Angelusem, *Protokół. Kamieńska kronika – Rodowód książąt pomorskich, tzw. Stargardzka genealogia*, trans. Elwira Buszewicz, ed. Edward Rymar. Stargard: Muzeum w Stargardzie, 2008.

Legenda Beatus Cyrillus — *Legenda Beatus Cyrillus*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 299–304. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.

Flavius Blondus — *Blondi Flavii Forlivensis Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum libri XXXI*. Basel: Hieronymus Frobenius, Joannes Hervagius, Nicolaus Episcopius, 1531.

Christian, monk — *Christiani monachi Vita et passio sancti Venceslai et sanctae Ludmile ave eius*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 186–200. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.

Křišťanův život sv. Ludmily a sv. Vacláva, trans. Josef Truhlář, ed. Josef Emler. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 1, 199–227. Prague: nákladem Musea Království českého, 1873.

Chronica de origine civitatis — *Chronica de origine civitatis*, ed. Otto Hartwig. Quellen und Forschungen zur ältesten Geschichte der Stadt Florenz vol. 1, 35–69. Marburg: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1875.

Chronica Poloniae maioris [*The Chronicle of Greater Poland*] — *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, ed. Brygida Kürbis. MPH series nova vol. 8. Warsaw: PWN, 1970.

Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis — *Chronica Sancti Benedicti Casinensis*, ed. Georg Waitz. MGH SS rerum Longobardicarum et Italicarum vol. 1, 467–489. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1878.

Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV — *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV.*, ed. Alexander Domanovszky. Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum vol. 1, 219–505. Budapest: Academia Litterarum Hungarica, 1937.

Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum Bavaricum	*Chronicon imperatorum et pontificum Bavaricum*, ed. Georg Waitz. MGH SS vol. 24, 221–223. Hannover: Impensis Biblipolii Hahniani, 1879.
Chronicon pictum Vindobonense	*Chronicon pictum Vindobonense*, ed. Mátyás Florianus. Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici 1. Scriptores vol. 2, 100–245. Leipzig: typis M. Taizs, 1883.
Chronicon Salernitanum	*Chronicon Salernitanum, A Critical Edition with Studies on Literary and Historical Sources on Language*, ed. Ulla Westerbergh. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia vol. 3. Stockholm/Lund: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1956.
Constantine Porphyrogennetos	*Constantinus Porphyrogenitus De administrando imperio*, ed. Gyula Moravcsik, trans. Romilly James Heald Jenkins. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1967.
Cosmas of Prague	*Kosmův letopis český* (*Cosmae Chronicon Boemorum cum Continuatoribus*), trans. Václav Vladivoj Tomek, ed. Josef Emler. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 2, 1–198. Prague: Nákladem Musea Království českého, 1874. *Kosmasa Kronika Czechów*, trans. and ed. Maria Wojciechowska. Warsaw: PWN, 1968.
Cosmographer of Ravenna	*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia et Guidonis Geographica*, ed. Moritz Pinder, Gustav Parthey. Berlin: in aedibvs Friderici Nicolai, 1860.
Dalimil	*Rýmovaná Kronika Česká tak řečeného Dalimila*, ed. Josef Jireček. Prague: nákladem Matice české, 1877.
Filip de Diversis	Filip de Diversis, *Opis slavnoga grada Dubrovnika. Hrvatski/ latinski*, ed. Zdenka Janeković-Römer. Zagreb: Dom i svijet, 2004.
Ebo	*Ebbonis vita Ottonis episcopi Bambergensis*, ed. August Bielowski. MPH vol. 2, 23–144. Lviv: nakładem własnym, 1872.
Excerptum de Karentanis	*Excerptum de Karentanis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. MGH SS 11, pub. Georg Pertz, 14–15. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlici Hahniani, 1854.

Giovanni Mario Filelfo — Nestore Pelicelli. "Due opere inedite di G. M. Filelfo: La Raguseide e La Storia di Ragusa," *Rivista Dalmatica* 5 (1902–1903): 5–33, 139–176.

Gallus [*Gallus Annonymus*] — *Galli Anonymi Cronica et Gesta ducum sive pricipum Polonorum*, ed. Karol Maleczyński. MPH nova series vol. 4. Krakow: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1952.

Gesta Hungarorum — *Anonymi Bele regis notarii Gesta Hungarorum. Anonymus, Notary of King Béla. The Deeds of the Hungarians*, eds. and trans. Martyn Rady, László Veszprémy, Budapest/ New York: Central European University Press, 2010.

Anonimowego notariusza króla Béli Gesta Hungarorum, trans. Aleksandra Kulbicka, Krzysztof Pawłowski, Grażyna Wodzinowska-Taklińska, ed. Ryszard Grzesik. Krakow: Societas Vistulana, 2006.

Godfrey of Viterbo — *Gotifredi Vitebiensis Speculum regum,* ed. Georg Waitz. MGH SS vol. 22, 21–93. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1872.

Goeffrey of Monmouth — *Gottfried's von Monmouth Historia regum Britanniae*, ed. San-Marte [Albert Schulz]. Halle: Eduard Anton, 1854.

Gregory the Great, pope — Grzegorz Wielki, *Dialogi*. Krakow: Tyniec. Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2000.

Ivan Gundulić — Ivan Gundulić, *Osman*. Zagreb: Matica ilirska, 1844.

Helmold of Bosau — *Helmoldi presbyteri chronica Slavorum*, ed. Johann Martin Lapenberg. MGH SS vol. 21, 1–99. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1869.

Historia Salonitana Maior — *Historia Salonitana maior*, eds. Nada Klaić, Jorjo Tadić. Belgrade: Naučno delo, 1967.

Johannes Skylitzes — *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Hans Thurn. Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae vol. 5. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1973.

Jovan Skilica. ed. Jadran Ferluga. Vizantijski Izvori za Istoriju Naroda Jugoslavije vol. 3, eds. Jadran Ferluga, Georgije Ostrogorski et al., 51–172. Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 1966.

Johannes Staurakios	Jovan Stavrakije, *Čuda sv. Dimitrija Solunskog*, ed. Božidar Ferjančić. Vizantijski Izvori za Istoriju Naroda Jugoslavije vol. 3, eds. Jadran Ferluga, Georgije Ostrogorski et al., 45–48. Belgrade: Vizantološki institut, 1966.
John the Deacon	*Johannis diaconi chronicon Venetum*, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz. MGH SS vol. 7, 4–38. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1846.
John de Thurocz	Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, eds. Erzsébet Galántai, Gyula Kristó. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1985.
Andrija Kačić-Miošić	*O. Andrije Kačića-Miošića Razgovor Ugodni Naroda Slovinskoga*. Zagreb: razpošilja Knjižara A. Jakić, 1862.
Kosma of Ohrid [*The Elbasan Legend*]	*Ακολουθία του αγίου ενδόξου βασιλέως και μεγαλομάρτυρος Ιωάννου του Βλαδιμήρου και θαυματουργού τυπωθείσα μεν πρώτον δαπάνη του τιμιωτάτου Κυρίου Ιωάννου Παπά του εκ της πόλεως Νεοκάστρου* [*Akolouthia tou agiou endoxu basileos kai megalomartyros Ioannou tou Bladimerou kai thaumatourgou. Tympotheisa men proton dapane tou timiotatou Kyriou Ioannou Papa tou ek tes poleos Neokastrou*]. Venice: ek tou Ellinikou Typografeiou tou Agiou Georgiou, 1858. [reprint of the edition from 1774]
	Tâpkova-Zaimova Vasilka. "Un manuscrit inconnu de la vie de S. Jean-Vladimir." in *Byzance et les Balkans à partir du VI^e siècle: les mouvements ethniques et les États*, 179–188. London: Variorum Reprints, 1979.
	Novaković Stojan, *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti među Slovenima 1. Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari*, 238–284. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1893.
Laurentius of Amalfi [*The Life of St. Venceslaus*]	*Vavřince, mnicha sv. Benedikta, utrpení sv. Václava*, trans. Josef Truhlář, ed. Josef Emler. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 1, 167–182. Prague: nákladem Musea Království českého, 1873.

The Life of St. Clement [*Bios Klimentos/ The Bulgarian Legend*]	*Βίος Κλήμεντος*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 200–235. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
The Life of St. Constantine (*Latin*) [*The Italian Legend*]	*Vita Constantini-Cyrylli cum translatione pp. Clementi*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 120–134. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
The Life of St. Constantine (*Slavic*)	*Žitije Konstantina Filosofa*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 57–116. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
The Life of St. Domnius	*Ex vita s. Domnii episcopi*, chapters 7–8, Acta Sanctorum vol. 2, 8. Venice, 1738. quoted after: *Documenta historiae Chroatiae periodum antiquam*, 169.3, ed. Franjo Rački, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 7, 288. Zagreb: sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum et Artium, 1877.
The Life of St. Ludmila [*Diffundente sole/ The Czech Legend*]	*Život sv. Lidmily*, trans. Josef Truhlář, ed. Josef Emler. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 1, 191–198. Prague: Nákladem Musea Království českého, 1873.
	Legenda Diffundente sole, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 276–284. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
The Life of St. Methodius [*The Pannonian Legend*]	*Žitije Mefodija, archijepiskopa Moravьska*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 134–164. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
	Żywot Metodego, Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego (*obszerne*), ed. Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński. Warsaw: Alfa, 2000.

The Life of St. Sabin of Canossa	*Ex vita et translatione sancti Sabini episcopi Canusini*, ed. Georg Waitz. MGH SS rerum Longobardicarum et Italicarum, 586–588. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1878.
Lucan [Marcus Annaeus Lucanus]	M. Annaeus Lucanus, *The Civil War* (*Pharsalia*), eds. Thomas Ethelbert Page et al., London/Cambridge: William Heinemann Ltd., Harvard University Press, 1962.
Lucas Tudensis [Lucas de Tuy]	Lvcae Tvdensis Chronicon Mvndi, ed. Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.
Giacomo Luccari [Jakov Lukarević]	*Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa di Giacomo di Pietro Luccari libri quatro*. Ragusa: Presso Andrea Trevisan, 1790.
Al-Mas'udi	*Marúdžu d-dahabi wa ma' ádinu l-džawáhiri li-l-Mas' údí/ Rýžoviště zlata a doly drahokamů od al-Masúdího*, trans. Ivan Hrbek, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 3, 404–408. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1969.
Micha Madius de Barbazanis	*Incipit Historia edita per Micam Madii de Barbazanis de Spaleto de gestis Romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum pars secundae partis de anno Domini MCCXC*, ed. Vitaliano Brunelli, *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* 1 (1926): fasc. 1, 33–36, fasc. 2, 33–36, fasc. 3, 45–48, fasc. 4, 41–48, fasc. 5, 45–48, fasc. 6, 45–48. [reprint of the edition from 1878]
Miletius	Matas Ante Konstantin. "Miletii versus." *Biblioteca storica della Dalmazia* 1. Dubrovnik: tiskom J. Flori, 1882.
	Matas Ante Konstantin. *Povijest Dubrovnika do 13. stoleća*, eds. Nedjeljko Marinov, Mate Matas, Duje Šilović. Zagreb: Kulturni sabor Zagore, 2016.
Nestor of Kiev	*Powieść minionych lat*, trans. and ed. F. Sielicki. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Państwowa Akademia Nauk, 1968.
	The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text, eds. and trans. Samuel Hazzard Cross, Olgerd P. Sherbotiz-Wetzor. Cambridge, MA: Crimson Printing Company, 1953.

Mauro Orbini	Mauro Orbini, *Il regno degli Slavi. Hoggi corrottamente detti Schiavoni*. Pesaro: Girolamo Concordia, 1601.
Paisius of Hilandar	Paisij Chilandarski. *Słowianobułgarska historia*, ed. and trans. Franciszek Korwin-Szymanowski. Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1981.
Palmotić Junije	*Pavlimir*. Zagreb: Zagrebačka stvarnost, 1995.
Peter the Deacon	*Leonis Marsicani et Petri diaconi Chronica Monasterii Casinensis*, ed. Wilhelm Wattenbach. MGH SS vol. 7, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, 551–884. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1846.
Polikarp, monk	*Polikarpa mnicha kijowskich pieczar Żywot Mojżesza Węgrzyna*, ed. Emil Kałużniacki. MPH vol. 4, 797–817. Lviv: w Komisie Księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1884.
The Polish-Hungarian Chronicle	*Kronika węgierskopolska*, ed. Stanisław Pilat. MPH vol. 1, pub. August Bielowski, 485–515. Lviv: nakładem własnym, 1864.
	Żywot św. Stefana króla Węgier, czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska, trans. and ed. Ryszard Grzesik. Warsaw: DiG, 2003.
Vinko Pribojević [Vincentus Priboevius]	*Oratio fratris Vincentii Priboevii sacrae theologiae professoris ordinis praedicatorum De Origine svccessibvsqve Slavorvm*. Venice: Per Ioannem Antonium & fratres de Sabio, 1532.
	Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i slavi Slavena*, trans. Veljko Gortan, Pavao Knezović, ed. Mirolsav Kurelac. Zagreb: Golden marketing, Narodne novine, 1997.
Provinciale vetus	*Carolini scriptores qui in ecclesia latina floruere, B. Caroli Magni Imperatoris, opera omnia*, ed. Jacques Paul Migne. Patrologia Latina, vol. 98, columns: 457–476. Paris: Excudebatur et venit apud J.-P. Migne editorem, 1862.
Legenda Quemadmodum	*Legenda Quemadmodum*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 289–297. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.

Nicola Ragnina [Nicolai de Ragnina]	*Annali di Ragusa del magnifico Mpp. Nicolo di Annali di Ragusa del magnifico Ms. Nicolo di Ragnina*, ed. Speratus Nodilo [Natko Nodilo]. Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 14, 165–301. Zagreb: Ex officina Sociatatis Typographicae, 1883.
Junije Resti	*Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii* (*ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451*) *item Joannis Gundulae* (*1451–1484*), ed. Speratus [Natko] Nodilo. Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 25. Scriptores 2. Zagreb: In taberna libraria eiusdem societatis typographicae, 1893.
Stanisław Sarnicki	*Stanislai Sarnicii Annales, sive De origine et rebvs gestis Polonorvm et Litvanorvm, Cracow*: [M. Szarffenberger], 1587.
Sicard of Cremona	*Sicardi episcopi Cremonensis Cronica*, ed. Oswald Holder-Egger. MGH SS vol. 31, 22–181. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1903.
The I Slavic Legend of St. Venceslaus	*Život sv. Václava* [*The First Slavic Legend*], ed. Josef Kolář. Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum vol. 1, ed. Josef Emler, 127–134. Prague: nákladem Musea Království českého, 1873.
The I Slavic Legend of St. Venceslaus, [*The Croatian Edition*]	Vatroslav Jagić. "Analecta Romana III." *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 25 (1903): 1–45.
The II Slavic Legend of St. Venceslaus	*Legenda Mantuanskago episkopa Gumol'da o sv. Vjačeslave češskom v slavjanorusskom preloženii*, ed. Nikolaj K. Nikol'skij [*Легенда мантуанского епископа Гумпольда о св. Вячеславе Чешском в славяно-русском переложении*. Н. К. Никольский]. Sankt Peterburg: Obščestvo ljubitelej drevnej pismennosti, 1909.
The Old Serbian rodoslovi and letopisi [collection]	*Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi*, ed. Ljubomir Stojanović. Belgrade/Sremski Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija. Štampano u Srpskoj manastirskoj štampariji, 1927.

Simon of Kéza — *Simonis de Kéza Gesta Hungarorum*/ Simon of Kéza, *The Deeds of the Hungarian*, eds. and trans. László Veszprémy, Frank Shaer. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 1999.

Georgius Sizgoreus [Juraj Šižgorić] — *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku*, ed. Slavo Grubišić. Šibenik: Muzej grada Šibenika, 1981.

Maciej Stryjkowski — *Kronika Polska Litewska, Żmódzka i wszystkiéj Rusi Macieja Stryjkowskiego*, ed. Mikołaj Malinowski. Warsaw: Nakład Gustawa Leona Glücksberga, Księgarza, 1846.

Tempore Michaelis imperatoris [*Legenda Moravica*] — *Tempore Michaelis imperatoris – Legenda Moravica*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 255–269. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.

Thietmar of Merseburg — *Kronika Thietmara*, trans. and edit. Marian Zygmunt Jedlicki. Krakow: Universitas, 2005.

Thomas of Tuscany — *Thomae Tusci Gesta imperatorum et pontifivum*, ed. Ernst Ehrenfeuchter. MGH SS vol. 22, 483–528. Hannover: Impensis Bibliopolii Avlicii Hahniani, 1851.

Thomas of Split (Archideacon) — *Thomae archidiaconi Spalatensis Historia Salonitanorum Atque Spalatinorum Pontificum. Archdeacon Thomas of Split History of the Bishops of Salona and Split*, Latin text: Olga Perić, eds. Damir Karbić, Mirjana Matijević Sokol, James Ross Sweeney. Budapest/New York: Central European University Press, 2006.

Foma Splitskij, *Istorija arhiepiskopov Salony i Splita* [Фома Сплитский, *История архиепископов Салоны и Сплита*], trans. and ed. Olga Anatolevna Akimova. Moscow: Indrik, 1997.

Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana*, ed. Franjo Rački. Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium vol. 26, Scriptores 3. Zagreb: In taberna libraria eiusdem societatis typographicae, 1894.

Samuel Timon — S. *Timon Imago antiquae Hungariae, repraesentans terra, adventus, et res gestas gentis hunnicae*. Vienna: Typis Joannis Thomae Trattner, 1754.

Ivan Tomašić	*Chronicon breve regni Croatiae* [excerpts], in *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, ed. Nada Klaić, 75. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1972.
Ludovicus Tuberon	*Lvdovici Tvberonis Dalmatae abbatis Comentarii de temporibvs svis*, ed. Vladimir Rezar. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001.
	Rezar Vladimir. "'De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae' Ludovika Crijevića Tuberona (kritičko izdanje, prijevod i komentar)." *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 51 (2013): 75–153.
Uspenije Kirilla	*Uspenije Kirilla*, eds. Dagmar Bartonková, Lubomir Havlík, Ivan Hrbek, Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, Radoslav Večerka. MMFH vol. 2, 245–252. Brno: Univerzita J. E. Purkyně, 1967.
Wincenty Kadłubek [*Magister Vincentius*]	*Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronicon Polonorum. Mistrza Wincentego zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika polska*. ed. Marian Plezia. MPH series nova vol. 11. Krakow: Secesja, 1994.
* Documents, *epistolae*	*Codex diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis*, vol. 4. part 2, ed. György Feyér, 218–223. Buda: Typis Typogr. Regiae Vniversitatis Vngaricae, 1829.
	Codex diplomaticus regni Croatie, Dalmatie et Sclavonie, vol. 1 ed. Marko Kostrenčić, no. 127, pp. 164–165, no. 139, pp. 180–181, no. 140, pp. 181–182. Zagreb: Izdavački zavod Jugoslovenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, 1967.
	Codex diplomaticus regni Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae, vol. 2, ed. Tadija Smičiklas, no. 34, pp. 33–35, no. 35, pp. 36–37, no. 100, p. 106, no. 201, p. 211, no. 208, p. 221, no. 210, pp. 225–226, no. 277, pp. 293–294, no. 331, p. 358. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1904.
	Codex diplomaticus regni Croatie, Dalmatie et Slavonie, vol. 4, ed. Tadija Smičiklas, no. 419, pp. 481–483. Zagreb: Tisak Dioničke tiskare, 1906.

Documenta historiae Chroatiae periodum antiquam, ed. Franjo Rački, Monumenta Spectantia Historiam Slavorum Meridionalium 7, no. 12, pp. 14–17; no. 81, p. 98; no. 87, p. 104; no. 119, p. 145, no. 149a, p. 188, no. 149.1a, p. 189; 149b, p. 190; no. 158, p. 211–212; no. 169.3, p. 288. Zagreb: Ex officina Societatis Typographicae, 1877.

I libri commemoriali della Republica di Venezia. Regesti, vol. 5, ed. Ricardo Predelli. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii, ed. Franz Miklosich, no. 204, pp. 217–219. Vienna: apud Guilelmum Braumüller, 1858.

Stare srpske povelje i pisma, vol. 1, part 1, ed. Ljubomir Stojanović, no. 129, pp. 123–126. Beograd/Sremski Karlovci: Srpska kraljevska akademija. Štampano u Srpskoj manastirskoj štampariji, 1929.

* The Collection of sources about the Tradition of Cyril and Methodius

Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes, eds. František Grivec, Franc Tomšič. Zagreb: Staroslavenski institut, 1960.

3 References

"Kralj Zvonimir. Dokumenti i spomenici." Zagreb: Muzej arheoloških spomenika – Split i arheološki muzej, 1990.

Adontz, Nicolas. "Samuel l'Arménien roi des Bulgares." in *Etudes Armeno-Byzantines*. Lisbon, 1965, pp. 347–409.

Alekseev, Sergej Viktorovič. "Letopis popa Dukljanina: Struktura drevneslovjanskogo rodoslovnogo predanja." [Алексеев, С. В. "Летопись попа Дуклянина: структура ревнесловянского родословного предания"] *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie* 3 (2006): 140–148.

Alekseev, Sergej Viktorovič. "Trebin'skaja legenda Dukljanina: popytka istoričeskoj rekonstrukcii." [Алексеев, С. В. "Требиньская легенда Дуклянина: попытка исторической реконструкции"] *Znanie. Ponimanie. Umenie* 4 (2013): 183–188.

Alföldi, Andreas. *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970.

Alimov, Denis Evgenievič. “Gotitcizm v Horvatii: ot Srednevekov’ia k Novomu vremeni.” [Алимов, Д. Е. “Готицизм в Хорватии: от Средневековья к Новому времени”] *Vestnik Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Seriia 4. Istoriia. Regionovedenie. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia* 2 (2017), no. 22, pp. 25–34.

Alimov, Denis Evgenievič. “Gotskaja teorija proishoždenija Horvatov. Pro et contra.” [Алимов, Д. Е. “Готская теория происхождения Хорвтов. Pro et contra”] *Voprosy istorii slavjan* 21 (2013): 55–74.

Alimov, Denis Evgenievič. “Gotsko-Slavjanskoe korolestvo: reannesrednevekovyj Ilirik v diskursivnom prostranstve etnopoezisa.” [Алимов, Д. Е. “Готско-славянское королевство: раннесредневековый Иллирик в дискурсивном пространстве этнопоэзиса”] *Vestnik Udmurtskovo Universiteta* 27, 4 (2017), s. 516–525.

Ančić, Mladen. “Dva teksta iz sredine 14. stoleća. Prilog poznavanju ‘društvenog znanja’ u Hrvatskom Kraljestvu.” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* 40 (2013): 155–199.

Ančić, Mladen. “Ljetopis Kraljeva Hrvatske i Dalmacije (Vrijeme nastanka i autorstvo Hrvatske redakcije Ljetopisa popa Dukljaninia).” in *Zvonimir: kralj hrvatski*, ed. Ivo Goldstein. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997. pp. 273–303.

Ančić, Mladen. “Miho Barada i mit o Neretvanima.” *Povijesni prilozi* 41 (2011): 17–43.

Ančić, Mladen. “Ranosrednjovjekovni Neretvani ili Humljani. Tragom zabune koju je prouzročilo djelo ‘De administrando imperio’.” in *Hum i Hercegovina kroz povijest*, vol. 1, ed. Ivica Lučić. Zagreb, 2011, pp. 217–278.

Ančić, Mladen. “Zamišljanje tradicije: Vrijeme i okolnosti postanka 30. glave djela ‘De administrando imperio’.” *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 42 (2010): 133–151.

Ankersmit, Frank. *Narracja, reprezentacja, doświadczenie. Studia z teorii historiografii*, ed. Ewa Domańska. Kraków: Universitas, 2004.

Antoljak, Stjepan. *Pregled hrvatske povijesti*. Split: Laus/Orbis, 1994.

Antonín, Robert. *Ideální panovník českého středověku. Kulturně-historická skica z dějin středověkého myšlení*. Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2013.

Assmann, Jan. *Pamięć kulturowa. Pismo, zapamiętywanie i polityczna tożsamość w cywilizacjach starożytnych*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2008.

Bak, János M. “Coronations – Past, Present, and Future.” in *Coronation. Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. J. M. Bak, 1–15. Berkeley/Los Angeles/Oxford: University of California Press, 1990.

Bak, János M. “Medieval Symbology of the State: Percy E. Schramm’s Contribution.” *Viator* 4 (1973): 33–63.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. “Bolesław i Peredsława. Uwagi o uroczystości stanowienia władcy w związku z wejściem Chrobrego do Kijowa.” *Kwartalnik Historyczny 3–4* (1990), vol. 97, pp. 3–35.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. "Gall jako historyk poważny, czyli dlaczego dzieje i Bolesława Chrobrego, i Bolesława Krzywoustego są prawdziwe i niegroteskowe." *Przegląd Historyczny* 99, 3 (2008): 399–410.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. "Jedność porządku przestrzennego, społecznego i tradycji początków ludu (uwagi o urządzeniu wspólnoty plemienno-państwowej u Słowian)." *Przegląd Historyczny* 77, 3 (1986): 445–466.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. "'Nadzy wojownicy' – o średniowiecznych pogłosach dawnego rytu wojskowego." in *Człowiek, sacrum, środowisko. Miejsca kultu we wczesnym średniowieczu. Spotkania Bytomskie IV*, ed. S. Moździoch, 7–26. Wrocław: Instytut Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2000.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. "Origo et religio – wersja słowiańska (o sposobach budowania tożsamości wspólnotowej w społecznościach wcześniejszego średniowiecza – 'wzorcotwórcze pamiątki' i opowieści o nich)." in *Trzy po trzy o dziesiątym wieku*, 315–349. Krakow: Avalon, 2014.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. "Podania o 'Początku'." in *Dynastie Europy*, ed. Antoni Mączak, 16–40. Wrocław: Ossolineum, 2003.

Banaszkiewicz, Jacek. *Podanie o Piaście i Popielu. Studium porównawcze nad wczesnośredniowiecznymi podaniami dynastycznymi*. Warsaw: PWN, 2010.

Banaszkiewicza, Jacek. *Polskie dzieje bajeczne mistrza Wincentego Kadłubka*. Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 2002.

Banašević, Nikola. *Letopis popa Dukljanina a narodna predanja*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1971.

Barada, Miho. "Dinastičko pitanje u Hrvatskoj XI stoleća." *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50 (1928–29) [1932], pp. 157–199.

Barada, Miho. "Dvije publikacije Jože Rusa." *Bogoslovenska smotra* 20, 4 (1933): 497–502.

Barada, Miho. "Topografija Porfirogenitove Paganije." *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* Nova serija 1–2 (1928), vol. 2, pp. 37–54.

Basotova, Ljubinka. "Letopisot na popot Dukljanin kako izvor za makedonskata srednovekovna istorija" [Басотова Љубинка. "Летописот на попот Дукљанинкако извор за македонската средновековна историја"], *Spomenici za srednovekovnata i ponovata istorija na Makedonija* vol. 5. Prilep, 1988, pp. 133–149.

Benyovsky Latin, Irena. "Grad i zaleđe u narativnim vrelima: konstruiranje tradicije o ranosrednjovjekovnim doseljenjima u Dubrovnik iz slavenskog zaleđa." *Acta Historiae* 25 (2017): 473–510.

Benyovsky Latin, Irena. "Introduction. Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/ or Fiction?." in: *Towns and Cities of the Croatian Middle Ages. Image of the Town in the Narrative Sources Reality and/or Fiction?*, eds. Irena Benyovsky Latin, Zrinka Pešorda Vardić, 13–60. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017.

Beumann, Helmut. "Rex Romanorum." in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 7, 777–778. Munich: LexMA-Verlag, 1995.

Birkenmajer, Józef. "Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego (Próba ustalenia tekstu)." in *Munera philologica Ludovico Ćwikliński bis sena lustra professoria claudenti ab amicis collegisdiscipulis oblata*, 347–370. Poznań: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Poznańskiego, 1936.

Blažević, Zrinka. *Ilirizam prije Ilirizma*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2008.

Bloch, Marc. *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson. New York: Routledge Revivals, 2015.

Boba, Imre. *Moravia's History Reconsidered: a Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1971.

Bogdanović, Dimitrije. *Istorija stare srpske književnosti*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1980.

Bonarek, Jacek. *Romajowie i obcy w kronice Jana Skylitzesa. Identyfikacja etniczna Bizantyńczyków i ich stosunek do obcych w świetle kroniki Jana Skylitzesa*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2003.

Borges, Jorge Luis. *Postulowanie rzeczywistości*, in *Polemiki*. Warsaw: Prószyński i S-ka, 1995.

Boroń, Piotr. *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie ... Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2010.

Borst, Arno. *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sparachen und Völker*. Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995.

Bratulić, Josip. "Apokrif o Prekrasnom Josipu u hrvatskoj srednjovjekovnoj kniževnosti." *Radovi Staroslovenskog instituta* 7 (1972): 31–122.

Bratulić, Josip. "Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru." in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 235–241. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Brogi, Bercoff Giovanna. "Humanistyczne dziejopisarstwo w Dalmacji i Chorwacji: wzory włoskie i mity narodowe." in *Królestwo Słowian. Historiografia Renesansu i Baroku w krajach Słowiańskich*, 29–42. Izabelin: Świat Literacki, 1998.

Brogi, Bercoff Giovanna. "'Królestwo Słowian' Maura Orbiniego a europejskie dziejopisarstwo XVI w." in *Królestwo Słowian. Historiografia Renesansu i Baroku w krajach Słowiańskich*, 43–77. Izabelin: Świat Literacki, 1998.

Brogi, Bercoff Giovanna. "'Królestwo Słowian' Maura Orbiniego i 'Obszerny wyciąg' z 'Roczników Dubrownickich' Jakova Lukarevicia (Luccariego)." in *Królestwo Słowian. Historiografia Renesansu i Baroku w krajach Słowiańskich*, 78–98. Izabelin: Świat Literacki, 1998.

Budak, Neven. "Tumačenje podrijetla i najstarije povijesti Hrvata u djelima srednjovjekovnih pisaca." in *Etnogeneza Hrvata. Ethnogeny of the Croats*, ed. Neven Budak, 73–78. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1995.

Bujan, Solange. "La 'Chronique du prêtre de Dioclée'. Un faux document historique." *Reveue des études Byzantines* 66, 1 (2008): 5–38.

Bujan, Solange. "Orbinijevo izdanje 'Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina': povijesni falsifikat." *Radovi – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest* 43 (2011): 65–80.

Burns, Thomas. *A history of the Ostrogoths*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984.

Bury, John Bagnell. "The treatise De administrando imperio." *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 15 (1906): 517–577.

Buschinger, Danielle. "German Alexander Romances." in *A companion to Alexander. Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, 291–315. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011.

Bylina, Stanisław. *Drogi – granice – most. Studia*. Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2012.

Carp, Teresa C. "'Puer senex' in Roman and Medieval Thought." *Latomus. Société d'Études Latines de Bruxelles* 39 (1980): 736–739.

Cary, George. *The Medieval Alexander*, ed. David J. A. Ross. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956.

Cetwiński, Marek. "Juliusz Cezar w Lubiążu: wokół pewnej wizji dziejopisarstwa śląskiego." in *Lux Romana w Europie środkowej ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem Śląska*, ed. Antoni Barciak, 29–36. Katowice: Instytut Górnośląski, 2001.

Curta, Florin. "The Making of the Slavs. Between Ethnogenesis, Invention and Migration." *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 2 (2008): 155–172.

Curta, Florin. *The making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Curta, Florin. *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Curtius, Ernst Robert. *Literatura europejska i łacińskie średniowiecze*. Krakow: Universitas, 2009.

Čače, Slobodan. "'Kozmografija' Anonima Ravenjanina i počeci Dubrovnika." *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997): 84–97.

Ćorović, Vladimir. "Hercegovački manastiri." *Starinar* 2 (1923): 69–71.

Ćorović, Vladimir. *Historija Bosne*. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1940.

Dalewski, Zbigniew. *Rytuał i polityka. Opowieść Galla Anonima o konflikcie Bolesława Krzywoustego ze Zbigniewem*. Warsaw: Instytut Historii PAN, 2005.

Dalewski, Zbigniew. *Władza, przestrzeń, ceremoniał. Miejsce i uroczystość inauguracji władcy w Polsce średniowiecznej do XIV wieku*. Warsaw: Neriton, 1996.

Delić, Stevan. "Petrov manastir kod Trebinja." *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 25 (1913): 129–130.

Deptuła, Czesław. *Archanioł i Smok. Z zagadnień legendy miejsca i mitu początku w Polsce średniowiecznej*. Lublin: Instytut Historii KUL, 2003.

Deptuła, Czesław. *Galla Anonima mit genezy Polski. Studium z historiozofii i hermeneutyki symboli dziejopisarstwa średniowiecznego*. Lublin: Instytut Historii Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 1990.

Domańska, Ewa. "Biała Tropologia: Hayden White i teoria pisarstwa historycznego." *Teksty Drugie: teoria literatury, krytyka, interpretacja* 26, 2 (1994): 159–168.

Dragojlović, Dragoljub. "Dukljanski knez Vladimir i albanski Novatiani." *Istorijski zapisi* 1 (1975), vol. 32, pp. 93–104.

Drmač, Marjan. "Legenda o Zvonimirovoj smrti." *Motrišta. Časopis za kulturu, znanost i društvena pitanja* 64–65 (2012): 124–138.

Dudek, Jarosław. "Święty Jan Włodzimierz (?–1016) w życiu i w religii. Niefortunny polityk i patron Serbów i Albańczyków." in *Gdzie jesteś człowieku? Funeralia lednickie – spotkanie 13*, eds. Wojciech Dzieduszycki, Jacek Wrzesiński, 223–230. Poznań: Stowarzyszenie Naukowe Archeologów Polskich, 2011.

Dunbabin, Jean. "The '*Maccabees*' as Exemplars in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries." in *The Bible in the Medieval World. Essays in Memory of Beryl Smalley*, eds. Katherine Walsh, Diana Wood, 31–42. Oxford/New York: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1985, pp. 31–41.

Dvornik, František. *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background*, vol. 1–2. Washington: Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1966.

Dzino, Danijel. *Becoming Slav, Becoming Croat. Identity Transformations in Post-Roman and Early Medieval Dalmatia*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

Đekić, Đorđe. "Geste or Jovan Vladimir's Biography." *Facta Universitatis. Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology and History* 12, 2 (2013): 183–189.

Eco, Umberto. *Limits of Interpretation*. Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994.

Elliott, Dyan. *Spiritual Marriage. Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Evans, Michael. *The Death of Kings. Royal Deaths in Medieval England*. London/New York: Hambledon Continuum, 2003.

Ferluga, Jadran. "Die Chronik des Priesters von Diokleia als Quelle für byzantinische Geschichte." *Byzantina* 10 (1980): 429–460.

Fermendžin, Euzebije, "Listovi o izdanju glagolskih crkvenih knjiga i o drugih književnih poslovih u Hrvatskoj od god. 1620–1648," *Starine* 24 (1891): 1–40.

Fine, Jr. John V. A. *Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994.

Fine, Jr. John V. A. *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkan. A Study of Identity in Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010.

Folz, Robert. *Les saints rois du moyen âge en Occident* (*VI*e*–XIII*e *siècles*). Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984.

Foretić, Vinko. "Korčulanski kodeks 12. stoleća i vijesti iz doba hrvatskie narodne dinastije u njemu." *Starine* 46 (1956): 23–45.

Foretić, Vinko. *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808. Knjiga prva*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod MH, 1980.

Foretić, Vinko. *Studije i rasprave o hrvatskoj povijesti*. Split: *Književni krug Split i Matica hrvatska* Dubrovnik, 2001.

Fraesdorff, David. *Der barbarische Norden. Vorstellung und Fremdheitskategorien bei Ribert, Thietmar von Merseburg, Adam von Bremen und Helmold von Bossau*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005.

Frazer, James George. *Złota gałąź. Studia z magii i religii*. Warsaw: PIW, 1962.

Gansiniec, Ryszard. "Nagrobek Bolesława Chrobrego." *Przegląd Zachodni* 7/8 (1951): 359–437.

Gąsiorowski, Antoni. "Rex ambulans." *Quaestiones Medii Aevi* 1 (1977): 139–162.

Geary, Patrick J. *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in Central Middle Ages*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.

Geary, Patrick J. "Reflections on Historiography and the Holy: Center and Periphery." in *The Making of Christian Myths in the Periphery of Latin Christendom* (*c. 1000–1300*), ed. Lars Boje Mortensen, 323–330. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2006.

Geertz, Clifford. "Opis gęsty: w poszukiwaniu interpretatywnej teorii kultury." In *Interpretacja kultur. Wybrane eseje*, 17–47. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2005.

Gerasimov, Todor. "Un sceau en plombe de Georges, fils du roi Bodine." *Studia Historico-Philologica Serdicensia* 1 (1938): 217–218.

Giakoumis, Konstantinos. "Glimpses from the Politics and Pragmatics of st. John Vladimir's Veneration and Pilgrimage in the Longue Dureé." in *International Scientific Conference Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of Slavs, Thessaloniki 2015* [*Κύριλλος και Μεθόδιος. Το Βυζάντιο και ο κόσμος των Σλάβων, Θεσσαλονίκη 2015*], ed. Antonios Emilios N. Tachiaos, 133–144.

Glavičić, Branimir. "Je li Marulić izostavio epizod s Palušom?" *Colloquia Maruliana* 6 (1997): 87–91.

Goldstein, Ivo. "Kako, kada i zašto je nastala legenda o nasilnoj smrti kralja Zvonimira? (Prinos proučavanju mehanizma nastajanja legendi u hrvatskom sredjovjekovnom društvu)." *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 17, 1 (1984): 35–54.

Grabar, Biserka. "Kult Ćirila i Metodija u Hrvata." *Slovo: časopis Staroslovenskoga instituta u Zagrebu* 36 (1986): 141–145.

Gračanin, Hrvoje, Petrak Marko. "The Notion of the Methodii Doctrina in the Context of the Church Synod of Split (AD 925)." in *The Byzantine Missionary Activity and Its Legacy in Europe. Proceedings of the 4th Symposium "Days of Justinian I", Skopje 11–12 November, 2016*, ed. Mitko B. Panov, 28–42. Skopje, 2017.

Gračanin, Hrvoje, Razum Igor. "Toma Arhiđakon i križarstvo." *Povijest u nastavi*, vol. 10, 19 (2014): 45–64.

Graus, František. *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reiche der Merowingen*. Prague: Nakladatelstvi Ceskoslovenské akademie ved, 1965.

Grégoire, Henri. "L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes." *Byzantion* 17 (1944/45): 88–118.

Grégoire, Henri. "The Bulgarian Origins of 'The Tempest' of Shakespeare." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 37, 2 (1940): 236–256.

Grgec, Petar. *Svjedočanstvo Zvonimirove nadgrobnice*. Sarajevo: Nova tiskara Vrček i dr., 1941.

Grujić, Nada. *Ladanjska arhitektura dubrovačkog područja*. Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 1991.

Grzegorzewski, Jan. *Grób Warneńczyka*, 223–276. Krakow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1911.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Attyla a Słowianie. Przyczynek do wyobrażeń o kontaktach huńsko-słowiańskich w średniowiecznych źródłach narracyjnych." *Roczniki Historyczne* 59 (1993): 33–42.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Czy w średniowiecznych kronikach węgierskich istniały dwa modele przekazu o rodzimych początkach?." in *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis. Studia z dziejów kultury środkowoeuropejskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, 117–124. Warsaw: Instytut Slawistyki PAN, 2014.

Grzesik, Ryszard. *Kronika węgiersko-polska*. Poznań: Instytut Historii PAN, 1999.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Książę węgierski żonaty z córką Mścisława Halickiego. Przyczynek do problemu czasu i miejsca powstania Kroniki węgiersko-polskiej." *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 3–4 (1995): 23–35.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Niezwykła kariera Attyli – od Bicza Bożego do popularnego imienia." in *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis. Studia z dziejów kultury środkowoeuropejskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, 82–91. Warsaw: Instytu Slawistyki PAN, 2014.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Sources of a Story About the Murdered Croatian King in the Hungarian-Polish Chronicle." *Povijesni prilozi* 24 (2003): 97–104.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Węgry a Słowiańszczyzna w najwcześniejszym etapie dziejów w świetle słowiańskich i węgierskich źródeł narracyjnych epoki średniowiecza." in *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis. Studia z dziejów kultury środkowoeuropejskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, 93–106. Warsaw: Instytu Slawistyki PAN, 2014.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "Wielkomorawscy bohaterowie – rodzimi czy obcy?" in *Hungaria – Slavia – Europa Centralis. Studia z dziejów kultury środkowoeuropejskiej we wczesnym średniowieczu*, 59–69. Warsaw: Instytu Slawistyki PAN, 2014.

Grzesik, Ryszard. "*Wstęp*." in *Żywot św. Stefana króla Węgier, czyli Kronika węgiersko-polska*, trans. and ed. Ryszard Grzesik, 7–48. Warsaw: DiG, 2003.

Guilland, Rodolphe. "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin. Les titres auliques des eunuques. Le protosphataire." *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–1957): 649–711.

Gumplowicz, Ludwig. "Die politische Geschichte der Serben und Croaten." *Politisch-antropologische Revue* 1 (1902/1903): 779–789.

Gunjača, Stjepan. *Ispravci i dopune starijoj hrvatskoj historiji*, vol. 1. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973.

Gunjača, Stjepan. "Kako i gdje je završio hrvatski kralj Dimitrije Zvonimir, s dodatkom: O grobu kralja Zvonimira na Kapitolu kod Knina." *Rad JAZU* 288 (1952): 205–324.

Gunjača, Stjepan. "Uz novi izvor o smrti kralja Zvonimira." *Mogućnosti* 2 (1961): 158–165.

Hadžijahić, Muhamed. "Das Regnum Sclavorum als historische Quelle und als territoriales Substrat." *Südost-Forschungen* 42 (1983): 11–60.

Hadžijahić, Muhamed. "Pitanje vjerodostojnosti sabora na Duvanjskom polju." *Godišnjak – Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine. Centar za balkanološka ispitivanja* 6 (1970): 201–261.

Hadžijahić, Muhamed. "Tihomir iz 'Kronike popa Dukljanina' – historijska ličnost?." *Godišnjak Društva istoričara BiH* 17 (1966–1967): 397–418.

Hafner, Stanislaus. *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie*. Munich: Verlag R. Oldenbourg, 1964.

Halbrooks, John. "Ælfric, the Maccabees, and the Problem of Christian Heroism." *Studies in Philology*, vol. 106, 3 (2009): 263–284.

Hannick, Christian. "Historismus und Aktualisierungstendenzen im Alexander-Roman in den slavischen Literaturen." in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter. Veröffentlichtung der Kongreßakten zum Freiburger Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes*, ed. Willi Erzgräber, 121–127. Sigmaringen: Veröffentlichung der Kongressakten zum Freiburger Symposion des Mediävistenverbandes, 1989.

Hauck, Karl. "Geblütsheiligkeit." in *Liber Floridus. Mittellateinische Studien. Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet*, eds. Bernhard Bischoff, Suso Brechter. Sankt Ottilien, 1950: 187–240.

Hauck, Karl. "Herrschaftszeichen eines wodanischen Königtums." *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung* 14 (1954): 9–66.

Hauck, Karl. "Lebensnormen und Kultmythen in germanischen Stammes- und Herrschergenealogien." *Seaculum* 6 (1955): 186–223.

Hauptmann, Ljudmil. "Dolazak Hrvata." in *Zbornik kralja Tomislava. U spomen tisućugodišnjice hrvatskoga kraljevstva*, 96–127. Zagreb, 1925.

Hauptmann, Ljudmil. "Kroaten, Goten und Sarmaten. Die gotische Tradition beim Popen Dukljanin." *Germanoslavica* 3 (1935): 95–127: 315–353.

Hauptmann, Ljudmil. "Podrijetlo hrvatskoga plemstva." *Rad HAZU* 273 (1942): 79–112.

Havlík, Lubomir. "Dubrovnické kroniky a tradice a Svatoplukovi." *Slovanský Přehled* vol. 3, 58 (1972): 197–200.

Havlík, Lubomir. *Dukljanska hronika i Dalmatinska legenda*. Podgorica: Grafo, 2008.

Havlík, Lubomir. *Dukljanská kronika a Dalmatská legenda*. Prague: Academia, 1976.

Heather, Peter. *The Goths*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988.

Hercigonja, Eduard. *Srednjovjekovna književnost, Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, vol. 2. Zagreb: Liber, 1975.

Hess, Paul. *Li Roumanz de Julius César. Ein Beitrag zur Cäsargeschichte im Mittelalter*. Winterthur: Verlag P. G. Keller, 1956.

Heyduk, Jędrzej. "Źródła do tzw. etnogenezy Chorwatów dalmatyńskich w świetle nowszej literatury." *Slavia Antiqua* 44 (2003): 33–51.

Hodana, Tomasz. "Najnowsze spory o autentyczność 'Słowa o wyprawie Igora'." *Przegląd Rusycystyczny* 3 (2011): 5–32.

Homza, Martin. "Sémantická potencia osobného vlastného (rodného) mena Svätopluk, ako východisko svätoplukovskej legendy." in: Martin Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve. Štúdie z dejín svätoplukovskej legendy*, 37–47. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2013.

Homza, Martin. "Stredoveké korene svätoplukovskej tradície u Slovákov (čierna a biela svätoplukovská legenda)." in: Martin Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve. Štúdie z dejín svätoplukovskej legendy*, 48–141. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2013.

Howorth, Henry H. "The spread of the Slavs, IV: The Bulgarians." *The Journal of Anthropological institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 11 (1882): 219–268.

Husić, Snježana. "Teritorijalna organizacija pripovijedanja u Orbinijevu 'Kraljevstvu Slovena'." *Radovi zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 43, 1 (2011): 91–95.

Hvostova, Ksenija Vladimirovna. "K voprosu terminologii Letopisi Popa Dukljanina." [Хвостова, Ксения Владимировна. "К вопросу терминологии Летописи Попа Дуклянина"] *Slavjanskij archiv* 2 (1959): 30–45.

Ingham, Norman W. "Genre Characteristics of the Kievan Lives of Princes in the Slavic and East European Perspective." in *American Contributions to the Ninth International Congress of Slavists* vol. 2, ed. Paul Debreczeny, 223–239. Columbus: Slavica, 1983.

Ingham, Norman W. "The Martyrdom of Saint John Vladimir of Dioclea." *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 35–36 (1987): 199–216.

Ingham, Norman W. "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity." in *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum, Michael S. Flier, 31–53. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984.

Ingham, Norman W. "The Sovereign as Martyr, East and West." *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 17, 1 (1973): 1–17.

Ivić, Nenad. *Domišljanje prošlosti: kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski arhiđakon Toma napravio svoju salonitansku historiju*. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskoga fakulteta, 1992.

Jadrijević, Ante. "Smrt hrvatskih kraljeva Miroslava i Zvonimira." *Crkva u svijetu*, vol. 2, 1 (1967): 45–59.

Jagić, Vatroslav. *Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srpskoga, Knjiga prva: Staro doba*. Zagreb: Štamparija Dragutina Albrechta, 1867.

Janeković, Zdenka. “Stjecanje Konavla. Antička tradicija i mit u službi diplomacije.” in *Konavle u prošlosti sadašnjosti i budućnosti. Zbornik radova sa znanstvenog skupa održanog u Cavtatu od 25. do 27. studenog 1996. godine*, vol. 1, ed. Vladimir Stipetić, 31–45. Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU, 1998.

Jareb, Mario. “Jesu li Hrvati postali Goti? Odnos ustaša i vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske prema neslavenskim teorijama o podrijetlu Hrvata.” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 40, 3 (2008): 869–882.

Jasiński, Tomasz. *O pochodzeniu Galla Anonima*. Kraków: Avalon, 2008.

Jelić, Luka. “Duvanjski Sabor.” *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*, vol. 10, 1 (1909): 135–145.

Jireček, Konstantin, *Istorija Srba*, vol. 1. Belgrade: *Naučna* kniga, 1952.

Jovanović, Ljubomir. “O letopisu popa Dukljanina.” *Godišnjak – Srpska kraljevska akademija* 15 (1901): 220–226.

Jovanović, Neven. “Dubrovnik in the Corpus of Eastern Adriatic Humanist ‘Laudationes Urbium’.” *Dubrovnik Annals* 16 (2012): 23–36.

Jovanović, Neven. “Manuscripts of the Regvm Dalmatię atqve Croatię gesta.” *Colloquia Maruliana*, vol. 18, 1 (2009): 5–24.

Jović, Gazić Vedrana. “Razvoj grada od kasne antike prema srednjem vijeku: Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar – stanje istraženosti. Urban Development from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar – the State of Research.” *Archaeologia Adriatica*, vol. 5, 1 (2012): 151–196.

Jurčić, Hrvoje. “Die sogenannten ‘Pacta Conventa’ in kroatischer Sicht.” *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 1 (1969): 11–22.

Jurkiewicz, Jan. “Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów w świetle historiografii. Czas powstania i tendencje polityczne.” in *Europa ŚrodkowoWschodnia: ideologia, historia a społeczeństwo. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Wojciecha Peltza*, eds. Jarosław Dudek, Daria Janiszewska, Urszula Świderska-Włodarczyk, 335–350. Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Zielonogórskiego, 2005.

Kaindl, Raimund Friedrich. *Studien zu den ungarischen Geschichtsquellen*, vol. 3–4. Vienna: in comission bei Carl Gerold’s Sohn, 1895.

Kalhous, David. *‘Legenda Christiani’ and Modern Historiography*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015.

Kampuš, Ivan. “Duklja u Zvonimirovo vrijeme – utjecaj i veze.” in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 255–260. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Kampuš, Ivan. “Novi prilozi o lokrumskim falsifikatima i Desinoj darovnici pulsanskim benediktincima.” *Historijski zbornik* 15 (1962): 317–324.

Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. *Dwa ciała króla. Studium ze średniowiecznej teologii politycznej*. Warsaw: PWN, 2007.

Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. "Pro patria mori in Medieval Political Thought." *The American Historical Review*, vol. 56, 3 (1951): 472–492.

Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. "The King's Advent and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors Of Santa Sabina." *The Art Bulletin*, vol. 27, 4 (1944): 207–231.

Kapetanović, Amir. "'Staro' i 'novo' u jeziku Kaletićeva prijepisa hrvatske redakcjije Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina." *Ricerche Slavistische*, vol. 11, 57 (2013): 21–37.

Karatay, Osman. *In Search of the Lost Tribe: The Origins and Making of the Croatian Nation*. Çorum: KaraM, 2003.

Karbić, Damir, "Šubici i dobri kralj Zvonimir. Prilog proučavanju legendi u politici hrvatskih velikaških obitelji." *900 godina Bašćanske ploče. Krčki zbornik* 42 (2000): 271–280.

Katičić, Radoslav. "'Aedificaverunt Ragusium et habitaverunt in eo'. Tragom najstarijih dubrovačkih zapisa." in *Uz početke hrvatskih početaka*, 141–160. Split: Književni krug, 1993.

Katičić, Radoslav. "Ivan Mužić o podrijetlu Hrvata." *Hrvatska prosvjeta*, vol. 3, no. 19 (1989): 243–270.

Katičić, Radoslav. "Methodii doctrina." *Slovo* 36 (1986): 11–44.

Katičić, Radoslav. "Vetustiores Ecclesiae Spalatensis Memoriae." *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* 17 (1987): 17–51.

Kelemina, Jakob. "Goti na Balkanu." *Časopis za zgodovino i narodopisje* part 3–4, 27 (1932): 121–136.

Kelemina, Jakob. "Popa Dukljanina 'Libellus Gothorum' (I–VII). Studija o starogermanskih spominih v naši zemlji." *Etnolog* 12 (1939): 15–35.

Kern, Fritz. *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im früheren Mittelalter. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie*. Leipzig: Koehler, 1914.

Kersken, Norbert. *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes'. Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter*. Cologne/Weimar/Vienna: Böhlau, 1995.

Kętrzyński, Wojciech. *O Kronice węgiersko-polskiej* (*Vita sancti Stephani Ungaro-Polona*). Krakow: Akademia Umiejętności, 1897.

Klaić, Nada. "O Legendarnoj smrti kralja Zvonimira." *Istorijski zapisi* 16 (1963): 229–271.

Klaić, Nada. "Plemstvo dvanaestero plemena kraljevine Hrvatske (Nobiles duodecim generationum regni Croatie)." *Historijski zbornik* 9 (1956): 83–100.

Klaić, Nada. "Problem Zvonimirove smrti u novijoj literaturi." *Historijski zbornik* 15 (1962): 271–288.

Klaić, Vjekoslav. "Narodni sabor i krunisanje kralja na Duvanjskom polju." in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske o tisućoj godišnjici Hrvatskog kraljevstva*, ed. Filip Lukas. Zagreb, 1925, pp. 3–18.

Klaniczay, Gábor. *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Klaniczay, Gábor. "The Paradoxes of Royal Sainthood as Illustrated by Central European Example." in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, 251–274. London: King's College London, 1993.

Kolanović, Josip. "Hrvatsko običajno pravo prema ispravama XIV. i XV. stoljeća." *Arhivski vjesnik* 36 (1993): 85–98.

Kolb, Frank. *Ideał późnoantycznego władcy. Ideologia i autoprezentacja*. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2008.

Kolumbić, Nikica. "Hrvatska književnost romaničkog razdoblja i lik kralja Zvonimira." in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 213–222. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Komornicka, Jolanta N. "Contra Signum Nostrum: The Symbolism of Lése-majesté under Philip VI Valois." in *Crime and Punishment in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. eds. Albrecht Classen, Connie Scarborough, 189–225. Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012.

Koščak, Vladimir. "O smrti hrvatskog kralja Dmitra Zvonimira." in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 223–234. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Koščak, Vladimir. "Pripadnost istočne obale Jadrana do splitskih sabora 925–928." *Historijski Zbornik* 33–34 (1980–1981): 291–355.

Kovačević, Jovan. *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 1. Podgorica [Titograd]: Redakcija za istoriju Crne Gore, 1967.

Kovačević, Jovan. "O uvodu Barskog rodoslova." *Zbornik Matice Srpske* 13–14 (1956): 61–70.

Kovačević, Ljubomir. "Nekoliko pitanja o Stefanu Nemanji: prilog kritici izvora za srpsku istoriju XII veka." *Glas – Srpska kralijevska akademija* 58 (1900): 1–108.

Kowalski, Wawrzyniec. "Król Pavlimir Bello i Aleksander Wielki. Wzór wojowniczego władcy w 'Regnum Sclavorum'." in *Poszukiwanie przeszłości. Szkice z historii i metody badań historycznych*, ed. Przemysław Wiszewski, Joanna Wojtkowiak, 35–49. Wrocław: eBooki, 2014.

Kowalski, Wawrzyniec. "Rupture. Integration. Renewal. The Gathering in Dalma and the Creation of a Political Community in the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea." *Slavia Meridionalis* 19 (2019): 1–28.

Kowalski, Wawrzyniec. "Wielkie zło i herezje Eutychesa. Wokół wątku podboju Dalmacji w 'Latopisie popa Duklanina'." *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 25 (2018): 53–67.

Kožić, Maja. "Ljetopis popa Dukljanina – jedno od temeljnih djela za izučavanje zametaka etnološkog zamišljanja u Hrvata." *Studia Ethnologica* 1 (1989): 195–199.

Krasić, Stjepan, "Opis hrvatske jadranske obale u putopisima švicarskog dominikanca Feliksa Fabrija (Schmida) iz 1480. i 1483/1484 godine," *Anali Dubrovnik* 39 (2001): 133–216.

Kršnjavi, Izidor. "Prilozi historiji salonitani Tome arcidjakona Spljetskoga." *Vjestnik kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog Zemaljskog arkiva* 2 (Zagreb, 1900): 129–169.

Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan. "Prvovjenčani vladaoci Bugara, Hrvata i Srba i njihove krune." *Rad JAZU* 59 (1881): 103–158.

Kukuljević Sakcinski, Ivan. "Tomislav prvi kralj hrvatski." *Rad JAZU* 58 (1879): 1–52.

Kulicka, Elżbieta. "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów i jej stosunek do mitu sarmackiego." *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. 71, 1 (1980): 1–20.

Kunčević, Lovro. *Mit o Dubrovniku. Diskursi identiteta renesansnog grada*. Zagreb/Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2015.

Kunčević, Lovro. "The Oldest Foundation Myth of Ragusa: The Epidaurian Tradition." *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 10 (2004): 21–31.

Kuntić-Makvić, Bruna. "Kako je Ivan Lučić prikazao dolazak Slavena u dijelu 'De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae'." *Historijski zbornik* 38 (1985): 131–166.

Kurelac, Iva. "'Regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae' gesta Marka Marulića u djelu 'De rebus Dalmaticis' Dinka Zavorovića." *Colloquia Maruliana* 20 (2011): 301–320.

Kurelac, Miroslav. *Ivan Lučić Lucius. Otac hrvatske historiogafije*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1994.

Kurelac, Miroslav. "Kralj Zvonimir u starijoj hrvatskoj historiografiji." in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 305–310. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Kurelac, Miroslav. "Nepoznati rukopis 'Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina'." *Historijski zbornik* 21–22, 1968–1969: 562. [Kurelac, Miroslav. "An Unknown Manuscript of the 'Annals of Presbyter Dukljanin'." *Bulletin Scientifique Conseil des Academies des Sciences et des Arts de la RSF de Yougoslavie. Section B: Sciences Humaines*, vol. 6 (15), 4–6 (1970): 113–114.]

Kurelac, Miroslav. "Povijesni zapis nazvan 'Anonimna Kronika' u rękopisu Naučne biblioteke u Zadru." *Hisotorijski zbornik* 23–24 (1970–71): 363–374.

Kurnatowska, Zofia. "Słowianie Południowi." in *Wędrówka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*, eds. Maciej Salamon, Jerzy Strzelczyk, 231–250. Krakow: Historia Iagiellonica, 2010.

Kuźmiuk-Ciekanowska, Agnieszka. *Święty i historia. Dynastia Przemyślidów w dziele mnicha Krystiana*. Krakow: Avalon, 2007.

Kužić, Krešimir. "Gdje je i kad Toma Arhiđakon doživio hrvatska vjerovanja vezana za pomrčinu mjeseca – doprinos interdisciplinarnoj metodi istraživanja." *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 22 (2004): 27–33.

Kürbis, Brygida. "Epitafium Bolesława Chrobrego. Analiza literacka i historyczna." in *Na progach historii 2: O świadectwach do dziejow kultury Polski średniowiecznej*, 243–282. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2001.

Kürbis, Brygida. *Studia nad 'Kroniką wielkopolską'*. Poznan: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1952.

Kürbis, Brygida. "Wstęp." in *Kronika Wielkopolska*. Warsaw: PWN, 1965.

Labuda, Gerard. *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej,* vol. 1. Poznan: Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, 1960.

Labuda, Gerard. *Mieszko II król polski (1025–1034). Czasy przełomu w dziejach państwa polskiego*. Krakow: Secesja, 1992.

Lakoff, George. Johnson Mark. *Metafory w naszym życiu*. Warsaw: Altheia, 2011.

Laszowski, Emilij. *Znameniti i zaslužnii Hrvati 925–1925*. Zagreb: Odbor za izdavanje knjige '*Zaslužni i znameniti hrvati 925–1925*.', 1925.

Le Goff, Jacques. *Historia i pamięć*. Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2007.

Leśny, Jan. "Bogorodica Krajinska." in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, part 2, eds. Gerard Labuda, Antoni Gasiorowski, 499–500. Wrocław/Warsaw/Krakow: Ossolineum, 1982.

Leśny, Jan. *Studia nad początkami serbskiej dynastii Nemaniczów (połowa XI–koniec XII wieku)*. Wrocław/Warsaw/Krakow: Ossolineum, 1989.

Leśny, Jan. "Żywot Jana Włodzimierza." *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 7, part 1, eds. Gerard Labuda, Zdzisław Stieber, 301–302. Wrocław/Warsaw/Krakow: Ossolineum, 1982.

Lewicki, Tadeusz. "Klukas." in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 2, eds. Władysław Kowalenko, Gerard Labuda, Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, 246. Wrocław/Warsaw/Krakow: Ossolineum, 1964.

Lis, Izabela. "Motyw 'odciętej głowy' w literaturze cerkiewnosłowiańskiej." in *Święci w kulturze i duchowości dawnej i współczesnej Europy*, eds. Wanda Stepniak-Minczewa, Zdzisław J. Kijas, 55–62. Krakow: Papieska Akademia Teologiczna, 1999.

Lis, Izabela. *Śmierć w literaturze staroserbskiej (XII–XIV wiek)*. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2003.

Lis-Wielgosz, Izabela. "Władza i rodowód. O wizerunku władcy w staroserbskiej literaturze." *Poznańskie Studia Slawistyczne* 5 (2013): 173–184.

Ljubinković, Nenad. "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari – između pisane i usmene književnosti." in *Traganja i odgovori. Studije iz narodne književnosti i folklora*, vol. 1, 153–162. Belgrade: Institut za književnost i umetnost, 2010.

Lucerna, Kamila. "Građa za studiju o apokrifu: 'Život i ispovijedanje Asenete, kćeri Pentefrijeve, koju je uzeo prekrasni Josip za ženu'." *Rad JAZU* 224 (1921): 168–188.

Lučić, Josip. *Povijest Dubrovnika od VII stoljeća do godine 1205*. Zagreb: Izdavački Zavod JAZU, 1973.

Ludat, Herbert. "Farbenbezeichnungen in Völkernamen. Ein Beitrag zu asiatisch-osteuropäischen Kulturbeziehungen." *Saeculum* 4 (1953): 138–55.

Łatyszonek, Oleg. *Od Rusinów Białych do Białorusinów. U źródeł białoruskiej idei narodowej*. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku, 2006.

Macartney, Carlile Aylmer. *The Medieval Hungarian historians. A Critical and Analytical Guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953.

MacCormack, Sabine G. "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of Adventus." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 21 (1972): 721–752.

Macrides, Ruth. "Saints and Sainthood in the early Palaiologan Period." in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. Sergei Hackel, 67–87. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981.

Madejski, Paweł. "An Unknown Version of 'Privilegium Slavicum'." in *Studia Lesco Mrozewicz ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*, eds. Sebastian Ruciński, Katarzyna Balbuza, Krzysztof Królczyk, 239–254. Poznań: Instytut Historii UAM, 2011.

Madunić, Domagoj. *Vinko Pribojević and the Glory of the Slavs*. Budapest, 2003. (MA thesis, History Department of Central European University).

Magdalino, Paul. "The Byzantine Holy Man in the Twelfth Century." in *The Byzantine Saint,* ed. Sergiei Hackel, 51–66. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981.

Mandić, Dominik. "Duvanjska biskupija od XIV.–XVII. stoleća." *Croatia sacra: arhiv za crkvenu povijest Hrvata* 5 (1935): 1–98.

Mandić, Dominik. "Kraljevstvo Hrvata i Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina." *Rasprave i prilozi iz stare hrvatske povijesti*, 443–469. Rome: Hrvatski Povijesni Institut, 1963.

Margetić, Lujo. *Dolazak Hrvata. Ankunft der Kroaten*. Split: Književni krug, 2001.

Margetić, Lujo. "'Liber Methodius' i pitanje vrela devete glave 'Ljetopisa Popa Dukljanina'." *Časopis Instituta za crkvenu povijest Katoličkog bogoslovnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* vol. 24, 46 (200): 1–9.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. "Istorijskopolitički kontekst scene miropomazanja u đakonikonu crkve Uspenja Bogorodice u monastiru Morači." in *Monastir Morača*, eds. Branislav Todić, Danica Popović, 45–55. Belgrade: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2006.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. "Patterns of Martyrial Sanctityin the Royal Ideology of Medieval Serbia. Continuity and Change." *Balcanica* 37 (2007): 69–81.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Sveti kralj. Kult Stefana Dečanskog*. Belgrade: Clio, 2007.

Marjanović-Dušanić, Smilja. *Vladarska ideologija Nemanjića. Diplomatička studija*. Belgrade: Srpska književna zadruga, 1997.

Maslać, Nikola. "Hrvatski kralj Zvonimir plemeniti (1076–1089)." *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti*, vol. 22, 2 (1941): 172–179.

Matijević Sokol, Mirjana. "'Historia Salonitana' post Thomam – recepcija 'Salonitanske povijesti' od prvotiska." in *Humanitas et litterae ad honorem Franjo Šanjek*, eds. Lovorka Čoralić, Slavko Slišković, 99–112. Zagreb: Dominikanska naklada Istina, Kršćanska sadašnjost, 2009.

Matijević Sokol, Mirjana. *Toma Arhiđakon i njegovo djelo*. Split: Slap, 2002.

Matijević Sokol, Mirjana. Sokol, Vladimir. *Hrvatska i Nin u doba kneza Branimira*, 2nd edition. Zagreb: *Hrvatski* studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2005.

Mayer, Antun. "J. Rus, 'Kralji dinastije Svevladičev'." *Nastavni vjesnik*, vol. 41, 1–3 (1932/33): 79–85.

Medini, Milorad. "Kako je postao Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina." *Rad* JAZU 173 (1942): 113–157.

Medini, Milorad. *Starine dubrovačke*. Dubrovnik: Jadran, 1935.

Melovski, Hristo. "Prološko žitije Sv. Jovana Vladimira." in *Dukljanski knez Sveti Vladimir (970–1016). 1000 godina crnogorske državotvornosti*, ed. Sreten Perović, 59–64. Podgorica: Fondacija 'Sveti Petar Cetinjski'; Narodni muzej Crne Gore, 2016.

Mertens, Dieter. "Caesar, Arminius und die Deutschen. Meistererzählungen und Aitiologien," in *Antike im Mittelalter. Fortleben, Nachwirken, Wahrnehmung*, eds. Sebastian Brather, Hans U. Nuber, Heiko Steuer, Thomas Zotz, 383–442. Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2014.

Michałowski, Roman. *Princeps Fundator. Studium z dziejów kultury politycznej w Polsce X–XII w.* Warsaw: Ośrodek Wydawniczy Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie, 1993.

Mikkola, Jooseppi Julius. "Avarica." *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 41 (1927): 158–160.

Minczew, Georgi. *Święta księga – ikona – obrzęd. Teksty kanoniczne i pseudokanoniczne a ich funkcjonowanie w sztuce sakralnej i folklorze prawosławnych Słowian na Bałkanach*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2003.

Mišić, Siniša. "Povelja Bjeljaka i Radiča Stankovicia Dubrovniku." *Stari srpski arhiv* 7 (2008): 113–127.

Moisl, Hermann. "Kingship and Orally Transmitted 'Stammestradition' among the Lombards and Franks." in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn I. Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 25.–28.10.1982, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich*, eds. Herwig Wolfram, Andreas Schwarcz, 111–119. Vienna: Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 1985.

Morosini, Roberta. "The Alexander Romance in Italy." in *A companion to Alexander Literature in Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, 329–365. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011.

Morović, Hrvoje. "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikog u korist Slovena." in *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, 109–124. Split: Matica hrvatska, 1968.

Morović, Hrvoje. "Novi izvori o nasilnoj smrti kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira." *Mogućnosti* 10 (1960): 830–838.

Moroz-Grzelak, Lilla. *Aleksander Wielki a macedońska idea narodowa: słowiańskie losy postaci antycznej*. Warsaw: Slawistyczny Ośrodek Wydawniczy, 2004.

Morris, Rosemary. "The Political Saint of Byzantium in the Tenth and Eleventh Century." in *Politik und Heiligenverehrung im Hochmittelalter*, ed. Jürgen Petersohn, 385–402. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1994.

Morris, Rosemary. "The Political Saint of the Eleventh Century." in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. Sergei Hackel, 43–50. London: Fellowship of St. Alban and St. Sergius, 1981.

Mužić, Ivan. "Hrvatska kronika od 547. do 1089. Libellus Gothorum (Kraljestvo Slavena) kao izvor za staru povijest Hrvata (s posebnim osvrtom na VI., VII. i VIII. stoljeće)." *Hrvatska obzorja* 6 (1998): 267–328.

Mužić, Ivan. *Hrvatska kronika u Ljetopisu popa Dukljanina*. Split: Muzej *hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika*, 2011.

Mužić, Ivan. "Nastajanje hrvatskog naroda na Balkanu." *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, vol. 3, 35 (2008): 19–41.

Mužić, Ivan. *Podrijetlo Hrvata* (*autohtonost u hrvatskoj etnogenezi na tlu rimske provincije Dalmacije*). Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske, 1989.

Mužić, Ivan. *Slaveni, Goti i Hrvati na teritoriju rimske provincije Dalmacije*. Zagreb: Naklada Nediljko Dominovic, 1997.

Mužić, Ivan. "U povodu Katičićeve recenzije." *Hrvatska prosvjeta*, vol. 3, 19 (1989): 271–284.

Myśliwski, Grzegorz. "Pamiętnicy. Ludzie sędziwi jako źródła wiedzy o przeszłości na ziemiach polskich (do XVI w.)." in *Europa barbarica, Europa christiana. Studia mediaevalia Carolo Modzelewski dedicata*, ed. Roman Michałowski, 113–126. Warsaw: DiG, 2008.

Nastalska-Wiśnicka, Joanna. *Rex martyr. Studium źródłoznawcze nad legendą hagiograficzną św. Wacława* (*X–XIV w.*). Lublin: Werset, 2010.

Nawotka, Krzysztof. *Aleksander Wielki*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004.

Nearing Jr., Homer. "Local Caesar Traditions in Britain." *Speculum*, vol. 24, 2 (1949): 218–227.

Nelson, Janet L. *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe*. London: Hambledon Press, 1986.

Nemet, Dražen. "Smrt hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira – problem, izvori i tumačenja." *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 38 (2006): 73–92.

Nicol, Donald M., "Kaisersalbung. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976): 37–52.

Nodilo, Natko. "Prvi ljetopisci i davna historiografija dubrovačka." *Rad JAZU* 65 (1883): 92–128.

Novak, Grga. "Questiones epidauritanae." *Rad JAZU* 339 (1965): 97–140.

Novaković, Stojan. *Prvi osnovi slovenske književnosti među Slovenima 1. Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari*. Belgrade: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1893.

Novaković, Stojan. "Srpsko-slovenski zbornik iz vremena despota Stefana Lazarevića." *Starine* 9 (1877): 1–47.

Oikonomidès, Nikolaos. *Les Listes de Préséance Byzantines des IX^e et X^e Siècles*. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1972.

Panofsky, Erwin. "Introductory." in *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance*, 3–33. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1939.

Papageorgiou, Angeliki. "The Byzantine Citizen in 'Gesta regum Sclavorum'." in *Niš i Vizantija XIV*, ed. Miša Rakocija, 79–88. Niš: Grad Niš, 2016.

Papageorgiou, Angeliki. *To Chronikó tou Ieréa tis Diókeleias. Eisagogí, Metafrasí, Istorikós Scholiasmos, Prósopa, Chóros* [*Το Χρονικό του Ιερέα της Διόκλειας, Εισαγωγή, Μετάφραση, Ιστορικός Σχολιασμός, Πρόσωπα, Χώρος*]. Athens: Ekdóseis Armós, 2012.

Papageorgiou, Angeliki. "The Earliest Mention of Stefan Nemanja in Byzantine Sources." *Niš i Vizantija XII* ed. Miša Rakocija. Niš, 2015, pp. 39–47.

Papageorgiou, Angeliki. "The wake behind the mission of Cyril and Methodius: Byzantine echoes in the Chronicle of the Priest of Diokleia." in *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs, 28–30 November 2013*, 785–794. Thessaloniki: Dímos Thessaloníkis, 2015.

Papageorgiou, Angeliki. "To Ypomnistikón tou Michaíl Choniáti kai oi 'Kastronoí'" ["Το Υπομνηστικόν του Μιχαήλ Χωνιάτη και οι Καστρηνοί"], *Bizantina Sýmmeikta* [*Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα*] 18 (2009): 159–169.

Parczewski, Michał. *Współczesne poglądy w sprawie etnogenezy oraz wielkiej wędrówki Słowian*, in *Wędrówka i etnogeneza w starożytności i w średniowieczu*, eds. M. Salamon, J. Strzelczyk, 221–230. Kraków: Historia Iagiellonica, 2010.

Pastoureau, Michel. *Średniowieczna gra symboli*. Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2006.

Peričić, Eduard. *Sclavorum regnum Grgura Barskog. Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*. Zagreb: Kršćanska Sadašnjost, 1991.

Pešut, Damjan. "Goti koji su i Slaveni (Goti qui et Sclavi)." *Migracijske i etničke teme*, vol. 13, 4 (1997): 301–334.

Peti, Anita. "Vinko Pribojević: De origine successibusque Slavorum." *Dani Hrvatskog Kazališta: Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu*, vol. 17, 1 (1991): 251–259.

Petrak, Marko. "Liber Methodius between the Byzantium and West: Traces of the Oldest Slavonic Legal Collection in Medieval Croatia." in *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*. eds. Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević., Trpimir Vedriš, 213–224. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2018.

Petrovics, István. "Imre Boba i pitanje Velike Moravske." *Scrinia Slavonica*, vol. 8, 1 (2008): 563–576.

Picchio, Riccardo. "Povijest Dubrovnika prema interpretaciji humaniste Giovana Maria Filelfa (1426–1480)." *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 1 (1973): 15–22.

Pirivatrić, Srđan. "Emperor's Daughter in Love with Prisoner: Comparing the Stories of Scylitzes and Anonymus Presbyter Diocleae." in *Byzanz und das Abendland: Begegnungen zwischen Ost und West*, ed. Erika Juhász, 278–283. Budapest: Eötvös-József-Collegium, 2013.

Plassmann, Alheydis. *Origo gentis. Identitäts und Legitimitätsstiftung in früh und hochmittelalterlichen Herkunftserzählungen*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2006.

Pleszczyński, Andrzej. *Przestrzeń i polityka. Studium rezydencji władcy wcześniejszego średniowiecza. Przykład czeskiego Wyszehradu*. Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2000.

Pohl, Walter. "Das Awarenreich und die 'kroatischen' Ethnogenesen." in *Die Bayern und ihre Nachbarn I. Berichte des Symposions der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung 25.–28.10.1982, Stift Zwettl, Niederösterreich*, eds. Herwig Wolfram, Andreas Schwarcz, 293–298. Vienna: Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Frühmittelalterforschung, 1985.

Pohl, Walter. *Die Awaren: ein Steppenvolk in Mittleuropa 567–822 n. Chr*. Munich: Beck, 1988.

Pohl, Walter. "History in Fragments: Montecassino's Politics of Memory." *Early Medieval Europe*, vol. 10, 3 (2001): 343–474.

Popović, Danijela. "Ubistvo u lovu, na vodi, u starijoj srpskoj književnoj tradiciji." *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, part 3, 55 (2007): 469–477.

Pražak, Albert. *Staročeska báseň o Alexandru Velikém*. Prague: Melantrich, 1945.

Puhiera, Samuel. "Judex, dux Marianorum." *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara*, vol. 1, 1 (1959): 5–16.

Puljić, Ivica. "Uspostava duborvačke metroplije." in *Tisuću godina dubrovačke (nad) biskupije. Zbornik radova u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije (998–1998)*, ed. Nediljko Ante Ančić, 15–56. Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik, 2001.

Rački, Franjo. "Ocjena starijih izvora za hrvatsku i srbsku poviest srednjeg vieka." *Književnik* 1 (1864): 548–557.

Radojčić, Nikola. "Društveno i državno uređenje kod Srba u ranom srednjem veku – prema Barskom rodoslovu." *Glasnik Skopskog nuačnog društva*, vol. 9, 15 (1935): 1–28.

Radojčić, Nikola. "Legenda o smrti hrvatskog kralja Dimitrije Zvonimira." *Glas – Srpska Kraljevska akademija* 171 (1936): 1–85.

Radojčić, Nikola. *O najtamnijem odeljku Barskog rodoslova*. Cetinje: Narodna knjiga, 1951.

Radojčić, Nikola. "'Šišić F., Letopis Popa Dukljanina'." *Slavia* 8 (1929): 168–178.

Radojčić, Nikola. *Srpska istorija Mavra Orbinija*. Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka, 1950.

Radojičić, Đorđe Sp. "Legenda o Vladimiru i Kosari – njeni vidovi od IX do XIX veka." *Bagdala* 96–97 (1967).

Radojičić, Đorđe Sp. "Un Poème épique yougoslave du XI^e^ siècle: Les Gesta ou exploits de Vladimir, prince de Dioclée." *Byzantion* 35 (1965): 528–35.

Radojković, Borislav M. "Država kralja Svetopeleka i njegovih potomaka." *Istorijski zapisi* 19 (1962): 399–435.

Radojković, Borislav M. *Knjižica o Gotima*. Belgrade: Grafika, 1974.

Radoman, Aleksandar. "'Gesta regum Sclavorum'. Nova istorijska mistifikacija." *Matica crnogorska* proleće (2013): 103–124.

Radoman, Aleksandar. "Ko je naručilac Dukljaninova Kraljestva Slovena?." *Matica: Časopis za društvena pitanja, nauku i kulturu* 65 (2016): 163–178.

Radoman, Aleksandar. "O pismu izvornika hronike Kraljevstvo Slovena Popa Dukljanina." *Lingua Montenegrina* 2 (2008): 103–107.

Raukar, Tomislav. "Splitsko društvo u Salonitanskoj povijesti Tome Arhiđakona." in *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku*, 215–244. Split: Književni krug, 2007.

Ređep, Jelka. "Aleksandar Veliki i kralj Milutin. Srpska Aleksandrida i Danilov zbornik – paralela." *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik*, vol. 47, 1 (1999): 19–34.

Ređep, Jelka. *Legenda o kralju Zvonimiru*. Novi Sad: Matica srpska, 1987.

Ređep, Jelka. "O ubistvu dukljanskog kneza Vladimira." in *Ubistvo vladara. Studije i ogledi*, 311–319. Novi Sad: Prometej, 1998.

Ređep, Jelka. "Ubistvo vladara kao problem žrtve." in *Ubistvo vladara. Studije i ogledi*, 299–302. Novi Sad: Prometej, 1998.

Reuter, Timothy. "Past, Present and No Future in the Twelfth Century 'Regnum Teutonicum'," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino, 15–37. London/Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1992.

Rezar, Vladimir. "*Dubrovački humanistički historiograf Ludovik Crijević Tuberon*." *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* 37 (1999): 47–94.

Rhode, Gotthold. "Die ehernen Grenzsäulen Boleslaws des Tapferen von Polen." *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 8 (1960): 331–353.

Ricoeur, Paul, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*. Krakow: Universitas, 2006.

Ricov, Joja. "Zvonimir – dobri kralj Hrvata." *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti*, vol. 45, 1–2 (1990.): 78–89.

Ridyard, J. Susan. *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England. A study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Rokay, Peter. "Motiv neostvarenog križarskog rata u biografijama srednjovjekovnih evropskih vladara." in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvastki. Zbornik radova*, ed. Ivo Goldstein, 241–247. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Rosner, Ignacy. *Kronika węgiersko-polska. Studyum krytyczne z historiografii średniowiecznej*. Krakow: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1886.

Rotković, Radoslav. "Neistoriska paradoksiranja S. Mijuškovića o Dukljaninu." *Kritika* 6 (1969): 370–377.

Rubel, Alexander. "Caesar und Karl dr Große in der Kaiserchronik. Typologischestruktur und die 'transaltio imperii ad Francos'." *Antike und Abendland* 47 (2001): 146–163.

Rus, Jože. *Kralji dinastije Svevladičev – najstarejši skupni vladarji Hrvatov in Srbov 454–614*. Ljubliana: Univerzitetna tiskarna J. Blasnika nasl., 1931.

Rus, Jože. *Krst prvih Hrvatov in Srbov. Nova poglavja o zgodovini kraljev Svevladićev 614–654*. Ljubljana: Univerzitetna tiskarna J. Blasnika nasl., 1932.

Rus, Jože. "Slovanstvo in vislanski Hrvatje 6. do 10. stoletja." *Etnolog* 5 (1933): 31–45.

Rymkiewicz, Jarosław Marek. "Historyczna topika i wieczne topoi." in *Myśli różne o ogrodach*, 9–28. Warsaw: Sic!, 2010.

Sakač, Stjepan Krizin. "Ljutovid, strateg Srbije i Zahumlja i njegova lokrumska povelja (g. 1054)." in *Mandićev zbornik* u *čast O. dra Dominika Mandića prigodom njegove 75-godišnjice života*, ed. Ivan Vitezić, Bazilije Pandžić, Atanazije Matanić, 40–79. Rome: Hrvatski povijesni institut, 1965.

Sakač, Stjepan Krizin. "O kavkasko-iranskom podrijetlu Hrvata." *Obnovljeni život: časopis za filozofiju i religijske znanosti*, vol. 18, 1 (1937): 1–25.

Scales, Len. *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis 1245–1414*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.

Schlumberg, Gustave Léon. *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*. Paris: E. Leroux, 1884.

Schramm, Percy Ernst. *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik. Beiträge zu ihrer Geschichte vom dritten bis zum sechtzehnten Jahrhundert*, vol. 1–3. Stuttgart: Hiersemann Verlag, 1954–1956.

Schroeder, Horst. *Der Topos der Nine Worhies in Literatur und bildener Kunst*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprech, 1971.

Seferović, Relja. "Razočarani notar: iz kasnog dubrovačkog prijepisa djela 'Historia Ragusii' Giovannija Conversinija." *Anali Dubrovnik* 55/1 (2017): 131–170.

Skibiński, Edward. *Przemiany władzy. Narracyjne koncepcja Anonima tzw. Galla i jej podstawy*. Poznan: Instytut Historii UAM, 2009.

Skok, Petar. "Ortsnamenstudien zu De administrando Imperio des Kaisers Constantin Porphyrogennetos." *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 4 (1928): 213–244.

Smiljanić, Franjo. "Neke topografske dileme vezane uz vijesti o smrti kralja Zvonimira," in *Zvonimir – kralj hrvatski. Zbornik radova*. ed. Ivo Goldstein, 229–234. Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1997.

Smiljanić, Franjo. *Studije o srednjovjekovnim slavenskim/hrvatskim institucijama*. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, 2010.

Spitzer, Leo. *Linguistics and Literary History. Essays in Stylistics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948.

Spychała, Lesław. "'Lingones' Tomasza ze Splitu. Węgierska nazwa Polaków (lengyen/lengyel) czy jej południowosłowiański odpowiednik (Lenđel [Lenđen])?" in *Zbadań nad historią Śląska i Europy w wiekach średnich*, eds. Mateusz Goliński, Stanisław Rosik, 173–215. Wrocław: Chronicon, 2013.

Spychała, Lesław. "Węgrzy jako *Pars aliqua gentis Massagetum*. Ślady późnoantycznej i wczesnośredniowiecznej uczoności w dziele Tomasza Archidiakona Splitu," *SAMAI* 5 (2020): 155–195.

Stanojević, Stanoje. "Milorad Medini: Starine Dubrovačke." *Jugoslovenski Istorijski Ćasopis*, vol. 314, 1 (1935): 618–619.

Stanojević, Stanoje. "O prvim glavama Dukljanskog Letopisa." *Glas – Srpska kraljevska akademija. Drugi razred* 126 (1927): 93–101.

Starnawska, Maria. *Świetych życie po życiu. Relikwie w kulturze religijnej na ziemiach polskich w średniowieczu*. Warsaw: DiG, 2008.

Steindorff, Ludwig. "Die Synode auf der Planities Dalmae. Reichsteilung und Kirchenorganisation im Bild der Chronik des Priesters von Dioclea." *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 93 (1985): 279–324.

Steindorff, Ludwig. "'Liber Methodius'. Überlegungen zur kyrillomethodianischen Tradition bei Priester von Dioclea." *Mitteilungen des bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 8 (1986): 157–173.

Steindorff, Ludwig. "Tumačenje riječi 'Dalmatia' u srednjovjekovnoj historiografiji. Istovremeno o saboru na 'Planities Dalmae'." in *Etnogeneza Hrvata. Ethnogeny of the Croats*, ed. Neven Budak, 148–159. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1995.

Steta, Andriana. *I Pacta Conventa nella storia e nella tradizione giuridica e politica croato-ungherese* (Doctoral thesis, Università di Macerata. Macerata, 2013).

Stoneman, Richard. "Primary Sources from the Classical and Early Medieval Periods." in *A companion to Alexander Literature in Middle Ages*, ed. Z. David Zuwiyya, 1–21. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011.

Strzelczyk, Jerzy. *Goci – rzeczywistość i legenda*. Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1984.

Swoboda, Wincenty. "Gabriel Radomir." in *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich*, vol. 2, eds. Władysław Kowalenko, Gerard Labuda, Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński, 77. Wrocław/Warsaw/Krakow: Ossolineum, 1964.

Szefliński, Błażej. *Trzy oblicza Sawy Nemanjicia. Postać historyczna, autokreacja, postać literacka*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2016.

Ślęczka, Tomasz. *Aleksander Macedoński w literaturze staropolskiej*. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2003.

Świeżawski, Ernest. *Zarysy badań krytycznych nad dziejami, historyografiją i mitologiją do wieku XV*, part 1. Warsaw: nakładem autora, 1871.

Segvić, Cherubin [Šegvić, Kerubin]. "Die gotische Abstammung der Kroaten." *Nordische Welt* 9–12 (1935): 1–56.

Šegvić, Kerubin. "Hrvat, Got i Slav u djelu Tome Splićanina." *Nastavni vjesnik* 40 (1931–1932): 18–25.

Šegvić, Kerubin. *Toma Arhiđakon, državnik i pisac 1200–1268. Njegov život i njegovo djelo*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1927.

Šišić, Ferdo. "Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji." *Vjesnik arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu*, vol. 13, 1 (1914): 1–93.

Šišić, Ferdo. *O hrvatskoj kraljici Margareti*. Dubrovnik: Jadran, 1930.

Šišić, Ferdo. "O smrti hrvatskog kralja Zvonimira." *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 8 (1905): 1–29.

Šišić, Ferdo. *Povijest Hrvata u vrijeme narodnih vladara*. Zagreb: *Tisak zaklade tiskare 'narodnih novina'*, 1925.

Šišić, Ferdo. *Pregled povijesti hrvatskoga naroda od najstarijih dana do godine 1873*. Zagreb: Izdanje Matice hrvatske, 1916.

Šišić, Ferdo. *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije*, vol. 1, part 1. Zagreb: *Kraljevska* hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska *zemaljska vlada*, 1914.

Škergo, Ante. *Stari pokrajinski katalog ili Katalog provincije Opće crkve. Provinciale vetus sive Ecclesiae Universae Provinciarum Notitia*. Zagreb: Hrvatski intitut za povijest, 2005.

Škergo, Ante. "Tobožnja Delminijska biskupija. The Alleged Diocese of Delminium." *Opvscvla archaeologica* vol. 31, 1 (2008): 283–302.

Štedimlija, Savić Marković. "Zagonetka popa Dukljanina." *Crkva u svijetu*, vol. 4, 1 (1969): 67–89.

Štrbáková, Ľubica. "Svätopluk Lotrinský († 900), krstný syn Svätopluka I., ako postava historická a hagiografická." in: M. Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve. Štúdie z dejín svätoplukovskej legendy*, 177–229. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2013.

Švob, Držislav. "Pripis Supetarskog kartulara o izboru starohrvatskog kralja i popis onodobnih banova." *Historijski zbornik*, vol. 9, 1–4 (1956): 101–117.

Thallóczy, Ludwig. "Die ungarische Beziehungen der Chronik des Presbyter Diocleas." *Archiv für slawische Philologie* 20 (1898): 206–220.

Thomas, Heinz. "Julius Caesar und die Deutschen. Zu Ursprung und Gehalt eines deutschen Geshihtsbewußtseins in der Zeit Gregors VII. und Heinrichs IV." in *Die Salier und das Reich: Gesellschaftlicher und Ideengeschichtlicher Wandel im Reich der Salier*, vol. 3, eds. Stefan Weinfurter, Hubertus Seibert, 245–277. Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1991.

Trajković-Filipović, Stefan. "Inventing the Saint's Life: Chapter XXXVI of 'The Annals of the Priest of Dioclea'." *Reveue des études Byzantines* 73 (2013): 259–276.

Trajković-Filipović, Stefan. *Saint Vladimir of Zeta. Between Historiography and Hagiography* (MA thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University. Budapest, 2012).

Třeštik, Dušan. "Manželstvi knižete Vaclava podle II. staroslověnske legendy." in *Husitství – reformace – renesance: sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, 39–46. Prague: Historický Ústav AV ČR, 1994.

Třeštík, Dušan. "Miscellanea k I. staroslovanské legendě o sv. Václavu: 'Každý, kdo povstává proti pánu svému, podoben jest Jidáší'." *Ceskoslovenský časopis historický* 15 (1967): 337–343.

Třeštík, Dušan. *Mytý kmene Čechů (7.–10. století) Tři studie ke 'Starým pověstem českým'*. Prague: Nakladatelství *lidové noviny*, 2003.

Ullmann, Walter. *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1975.

Ullmann, Walter. *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship*. London: Methuen, 1969.

Uspienski, Borys. *Car i patriarcha. Charyzmat władzy w Rosji*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Naukowe 'Śląsk', 1999.

Uspieński, Borys. *Kult św. Mikołaja na Rusi*. Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw Katolickiego uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1985.

Ušković, Petar. "Kralj Vladimir kao književni motiv u hrvatskoj latinističkoj tradiciji." in *Pavao Ritter Vitezović i njegovo doba (1652–1713)*, eds. Alojz Jembrih, Ivana Jukić, 165–179. Zagreb: Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta, 2016.

Vadrna, Marek. "Obraz kráľa Svätopluka I. v českých kronikách." in: Martin Homza et al., *Svätopluk v európskom písomníctve. Štúdie z dejín svätoplukovskej legendy*, 230–273. Bratislava: Post Scriptum, 2013.

Vidmanová, Anežka. "Ještě jednou k privilegiu Alexandra Velikého pro Slovany." in *Pulchritudo et sapientia: ad honorem Pavel Spunar*, eds. Zuzana Silagiová, Hana Šedinová, Petr Kitzler, 179–187. Prague: Filozofický ústav AV ČR, 2008.

Vidmanová, Anežka. "K privilegiu Alexandra Velikého Slovanům." in *Husitství – reformace – renesance: sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, ed. Jaroslav Pánek, 105–115. Prague: Historický Ústav AV ČR, 1994.

Vojvoda, Rozana. *Dalmatian Illuminated Manuscripts Written in Beneventan Script and Benedictine Scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir* (Doctoral thesis, Department of Medieval Studies, Central European University. Budapest, 2011).

Vrana, Josip. "*Isprave zahumskih vladara iz XI i XII. st. o Babinu Polju na otoku Mljetu*." *Historijski zbornik* 13 (1960): 155–166.

Vučinić, Stevo. *Prilozi proučavanju Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina i ranosrednjovjekovne Duklje*. Cetinje: Fakultet za crnogorski jezik i književnost, 2017.

Weiler, Björn. "The Rex renitens and the Medieval Idea of Kingship, ca. 900–ca. 1250." *Viator* 31 (2000): 1–42.

White, Hayden. *Proza historyczna*. Krakow: Universitas, 2009.

Wiszewski, Przemysław. *Domus Bolezlai. Values and Social Identity in Dynastic Traditions of Medieval Poland (c. 966–1138)*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2010.

Wolfram, Herwig. *Historia Gotów*. Warsaw/Gdańsk: Bellona, 2003.

Wolfram, Herwig. "Origo et religio. Etnische Traditionen und Literatur in frühmittelalterlischen Quellen." in *Mittelalterliche Annäherung an eine fremde Zeit*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann, 26–39. Regensburg: Universitätsverlag Regensburg, 1993.

Wolfram, Herwig. "Razmatranja o 'origo gentis'." in *Etnogeneza Hrvata. Ethnogeny of the Croats*, ed. Neven Budak, 40–53. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, 1995.

Wróbel, Piotr. "Dubrownicki benedyktyn Ludwik Tuberon De Crieva (Crijević) i jego zarys dziejów Turcji w pamiętniku politycznym 'Commentarii de temporibus suis'." *Balcanica Poznaniensia* 21 (2014): 51–61.

Zupka, Dušan. *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016.

Żmudzki, Paweł. "Psy Jaćwingów. Dlaczego Marcin Kromer zinterpretował rocznikarską zapiskę o zwycięstwie Leszka Czarnego inaczej niż Jan Długosz." in *Historia narrat. Studia mediewistyczne ofiarowane profesorowi Jackowi Banaszkiewiczowi*, eds. Andrzej Pleszczyński, Joanna Sobiesiak, Michał Tomaszek, 76–95. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2012.

Žile, Ivica. "Naselje prije grada." *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost* 4 (1997): 97–119.

Živković, Miloš. "The Legendary Ruler in Medieval Guise: Few Observations on the Iconography of Belgrade Alexandride." *International Conference of Young Specialists 'Actual Problems in Theory and History of Arts'*. Saint-Petersburg, 2010. http://www.actual-art.org/en/k2010-2/st2010/94-vh/192-the-legendary-ruler.html, accessed 2020 September 17.

Živković, Tibor. "Constantine Porphyrogenitus and the Ragusan Authors before 1611." In *Forging Unity, The south Slavs between east and west 550–1150*, 157–173. Belgrade: Institute of History, 2008.

Živković, Tibor. *De conversione Croatorum et Serborum. A Lost Source*. Belgrade: Institute of History, 2012.

Živković, Tibor. "Dva pitanja iz vremena vladavine kralja Bodina." *Zbornik radova Vizantijskog instituta* 42 (2005): 45–59.

Živković, Tibor, *Gesta regum Sclavorum 2. Komentar*. Belgrade: Istorijski Institut. Manastir Ostrog, 2009.

Živković, Tibor. "O prvim poglavljama Letopisa Popa Dukljanina." *Istorijski časopis* 44 (1997): 11–34.

Živković, Tibor. "O takozvanom saboru na Duvanjskom polju." *Zbornik za istoriju Bosne i Hercegovine* 4 (2004): 45–65.

Živković, Tibor. "On the Foundation of Ragusa: The Tradition vs. Facts." *Historical Review* 14 (2007): 9–25. [Also in *Forging Unity. The south Slavs between east and west 550–1150*, 171–192. Belgrade: Institute of History, 2008.]

Živković, Tibor. "The Legend of Pavlimir Bello." in T. Živković, *Forging Unity. The south Slavs between east and west 550–1150*, 205–225. Belgrade: Institute of History, 2008.

Žugaj, Marijan. "Hrvatska biskupija od 1352 do 1578. godine." *Croatica Christiana periodica*, vol. 10, 18 (1986): 92–112.

Županić, Niko. "'Kralji dinastije Svevladičev – najstarejši skupni vladarji Hrvatov in Srbov 454–614'." *Etnolog* 7 (1934): 198–206.

Županić, Niko. "Značenje barvnega atributa v imenu 'Crvena Hrvatska'. Predavanje na IV. kongresu slovanskih geografov in etnografov v Sofiji, dne 18. avgusta 1936." *Etnolog* 10–11 (1937–1939): 355–376.

Index of Historical Figures and Geographical Names

Index of Modern Authors